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On the Edge of the Balcones Escarpment:

The Urban and Cultural Development of New Braunfels and San Marcos, Texas

1845 – 1880

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On the Edge of the Balcones Escarpment:
The Urban and Cultural Development of New Braunfels and San Marcos, Texas
1845 – 1880

by

Judith Lynn Dykes-Hoffmann, B.A., M.A.

Dissertation

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This work is dedicated to the two
most important Texas men in my life:

My husband, Tobin Hoffmann

And

My Dissertation Advisor, Terry Jordan-Bychkov

Acknowledgements

In 1991 while researching an undergraduate history paper on the German Texans, I came across a book that forever changed my academic career. That book was Terry Jordan's *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas*. I cannot describe my jubilation as I poured over his maps and dialogue describing central Texas German farmers. Though it took me a while to get to the discipline, it was my first encounter with cultural geography and I was hooked.

I earned two degrees in History before finding my way to the Geography department at the University of Texas at Austin. Before that time I busied myself with research on the Germans in Texas and continued to be a fan of Terry Jordan's work. I finished my Master's degree and began to look into doctoral programs. I discussed the situation with a close colleague, Dr. Richard Milk at Texas Lutheran University, and he suggested the obvious to me. He told me that since Terry Jordan was at the University of Texas I should apply there. I felt ashamed for a moment that I had not thought of the idea. However, embarrassment turned to excitement at the thought of working with one so well known. The next thing I knew I was in Jordan's office discussing geography!

The next few years I completed my course work taking classes with so many wonderful geographers. It did not take me long to know that I had found my intellectual "home." Throughout this time I got to know Terry Jordan very well and found a kindred spirit. When it came time to find a dissertation supervisor, I knew I wanted to work with him while I researched the German-Texans. I told him I wanted to do a comparison of

some sort between New Braunfels and another community. He suggested the idea of comparing New Braunfels to San Marcos. Before he could explain the significance of something like this, I knew this would be an important study. He told me that since both towns existed in nearly identical physical locations, here was an opportunity to study culture in a “laboratory type” environment. Again I felt the same type of jubilation that I had that day years ago when I first read *German Seed in Texas Soil*. I conducted preliminary research to see if there was enough data and other materials to warrant a larger search. I typed up my results in a small paper and gave it to Terry to read. He returned it saying the project “as previously indicated, has considerable promise,” it was dissertation material and he would be glad to be my doctoral advisor.

Over the course of the next several years I slowly conducted research and began the writing process. The process was slow because of one thing that happened to two very important men in my life: cancer. Terry was first diagnosed with cancer in the spring of 2001 and months later, my husband Tobin was also diagnosed with the dreaded disease. In between Terry’s and Tobin’s healthy periods, I worked diligently to get this dissertation done. All along the way they both encouraged me to finish, especially at times when I so wanted to give it all up. Terry’s wife, geographer Bella Bychkova-Jordan, was also a great source of strength and inspiration through this time as she finished her dissertation under very similar circumstances.

From the spring of 2001 to the spring of 2003 I had only managed to write two chapters. Finally in the summer of 2003 cancer took a back seat while I finished the writing process. The summer of 2003 I will never forget. I poured over my research and

threw myself into the writing process. Terry worked with me all summer helping me to clean up my work and with his incredible keen eye, caught all my many flaws. I marveled at watching him work and pinched myself often to remind myself who I was working with and the significance of it all. Finally, in August I turned in the last chapter and received it back in the mail a few days later saying that everything was “in pretty good shape.” I set about making the corrections requested and begin thinking about a defense date. Then, on September 15, 2003 I was told that things were not well with Terry. In between days of planning a graduation and those where I felt that I would never finish, I received yet another message that would change everything. Terry told me to finish my work, to stay strong, and to plan on a graduation. Our last phone conversation on Monday, October 13, 2001 I promised him I would finish and we planned for a November defense date.

Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov died Thursday, October 16, 2003. I share the above with you, the reader, to know the importance of this man. While his signature may not appear on the signature page, his mark is all over this work. It is not just in his corrections and suggestions, it is in the very heart of the project. While I may have conducted the research, he was the source of inspiration for so much of my curiosity about the German and Anglo-Texans. For me it is only fitting that as I finish this dissertation I announce that I have come full circle. Twelve years ago I started my quest to know more as a result of Terry Jordan’s book, and I finish this degree proud to say that I worked with him on this project. I never imagined all those years ago that I would end up where I did because it was unfathomable to me to ever work with someone of Terry’s

stature. I told him this several times through the years about the importance of that book to me. Though Terry may be gone, his work continues through those of us who found so much inspiration with “his kind of geography.” For the opportunities and the times I spent learning from him I will forever be in his debt. Thank you, Terry Jordan-Bychkov.

There are so many other people I need to acknowledge and thank in helping me to get this project completed. First, I need to thank my dissertation committee. I owe a huge debt to Dr. William Doolittle for stepping in and taking over after Terry’s death. His help in getting the paperwork organized and making the necessary phone calls that kept this committee together was something I will never forget. Then, his willingness to step in at such a late date as co-supervisor deeply touched me. His guidance helped during a confusing time and he kept me focused. He also made sure that the dissertation held to the high standards required for the University and for the Geography department.

I also wish to thank the other members of my committee. Dr. Gregory Knapp, also department chair, who kept me informed of Terry’s situation at all times and helped me with all the procedures that needed to be followed in this particular situation. He also gave me great encouragement to finish my work. Dr. Christopher Shane Davies taught me a great deal about cities and made me deeply curious about the utilization of public spaces. I also appreciate his work on Texas cities and his research on the subject. Finally, I owe a huge thanks to Dr. Susan Hardwick. Her enthusiasm for Geography and her energy were a great source of comfort for me. She inspires me to do my best. In all, I was very fortunate to have a committee such as this one and feel lucky to have learned from them. Another person who helped me a great deal through this tough time was Dee

Dee Barton, Graduate Coordinator for the University of Texas Geography department. She always knew what I needed even before I ever asked for something.

In working on a project of this size there are numerous librarians, archivists, and others who help gather material, or are just there to help when there are questions. I thank John Anderson and his staff at the Texas State Library and Archives in Austin for helping me acquire maps and map reproductions. Likewise the staff at the Center for American Studies at the University of Texas helped a great deal, along with the other librarians at the various library facilities on campus. In San Marcos I am grateful for the help received at the Special Collections in the Alkek Library at Texas State University and the San Marcos Public Library. The staff at the Sophienburg Archives and New Braunfels Public Library helped me locate various documents and books, which I am grateful for as well. Finally, I would like to thank the many employees at the Hays County Records office and Comal County Records office who aided me in finding the many local documents, information and maps necessary for my research.

Another important group of people that helped me during this process were my department colleagues at Texas Lutheran University. I thank Dr. Richard Milk for his guidance and mentoring all these years, Dr. Angelika Sauer for lifting me up when I stumbled along the way, Rebecca Kosary for being a fellow researcher I could share my agonies with, John Gesick for sharing his love of Texas with me, and Katherine Walters and Jeep Kiel for being great supporters. There were many other faculty members, friends and many of my students at TLU who encouraged me all along the way and

eagerly tracked my progress through the months of researching and writing. I am lucky to work with such wonderful people and be surrounded by caring students.

I also owe a great deal to my family. To my mother and father Calvin and Debbie Dykes – thanks for cooking all the meals, driving my children to places they needed to be and just being there when I needed a shoulder to lean on. How lucky I am to have you and I am honored to call you my parents. To my other “parents” Helen and Carroll Hoffmann I thank you for helping me out as well and the strength you gave me. Finally, I save the best for last – my children and my husband. I could not imagine doing something like this, a Ph.D. program, without the support of my three incredible children Caleb, Catherine and Canaan, and my hero, my husband Tobin. You know what I have been through and felt what I put you through. Yet, the entire time I never heard any one of you complain. Instead, there were only words of encouragement, smiles and hugs along the way. Many times I wondered how I could be so lucky to have all of you in my life. My triumph of finishing is not a lone victory – we did it together so we rejoice together! It is done!

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Chapter One

The Setting

Introduction to the Study

Geographers and historians have written much about the impact of European immigrant groups in the United States and the regions where they settled. As Europeans moved to the United States some settled in rural areas while others quickly established towns. Whether in rural or urban settings immigrant groups created communities that reflected the culture they brought with them, but through the process of simplification these communities were not exact replicas of the ones left behind. These people also felt pressures to acculturate and assimilate within the more dominant U. S. Anglo culture. These pressures displayed itself within the towns they established. Likewise, as towns naturally modified to reflect changes occurring across the United States, immigrant towns did the same.

The Germans who migrated to Texas in the nineteenth century have been the focus for many in their scholarly works.¹ They were the largest European group to come to Texas in the nineteenth century. Most of the migrating group came under the

¹ Walter Struve, *Germans & Texans: Commerce, Migration and Culture in the Days of the Lone Star Republic* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); Lauren Kattner, "Growing Up and Town Development: Social and Cultural Adaptation in a German-American Town," MA Thesis, University of Texas at Dallas, December 1987; Glen E. Lich, *The German Texans* (San Antonio: University of Texas Institute of Cultures, 1981); Jean T. Hannaford, "The Cultural Impact of European Settlement in Central Texas in the Nineteenth Century," MA Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1970; D. W. Meinig, *Imperial Texas: An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969); Hubert G. H. Wilhelm, "Organized German Settlement and Its Effects on the Frontier of South-Central Texas," (PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois, August 1968); Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966); Rudolph L. Bieseke, *The History of German Settlements in Texas 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1930). This is only a partial list. For a more complete listing of other titles and a wide variety of articles written about the Germans in Texas see the Bibliography.

direction of the Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer² in Texas, founded in part by the German prince, Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels and other German noblemen. This group alone brought some 7,000 Germans to Texas starting in 1845. Henri Castro, another colonizer similar in approach to the Adelsverein, brought 2,000 Germans in his colonization efforts.

All told, by 1850 there was a “German element of some 11,500 persons.” The Germans made up the “largest European element in Texas in 1850, and this ranked them second behind Anglo Americans and ahead of Mexican Americans in counting the free population in Texas.”³ They built several towns in the Texas Hill Country creating an ethnic enclave surrounded by Southern Anglos to the north and east and Mexican Texans to the south and west. These unusual towns became the topic of many travelers’ journals. Most observers wrote about the neatness and cleanliness of the German towns in comparison to other Texas towns. As a result, non-Germans noted the difference and often praised the group for their achievements. This helped to feed the growing reputation of Germans being a hard working people who stood out from other Texas groups.

Of the reasons listed above, most researchers focused on why the Germans came, the groups that guided their migration, and the first years of German settlements. In the field of cultural geography, Terry Jordan-Bychkov’s *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* was a major breakthrough in German studies. This pivotal study confirmed that the Texas Germans made significant

² Also known as the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas. For the purposes of this

agricultural contributions in the Hill Country region. It also started a period of serious examination into Texas German culture previously ignored by other academic scholars. Hubert Wilhelm continued the process begun by Jordan-Bychkov as he examined the German immigrant as a frontier settler, the cultural landscape of German settlements, and modifications of that landscape during both World Wars. He concluded that even though German culture experienced much recent change, the German Texans were still a cohesive cultural group through shared linguistic, socio-economic, and material traits. Another geographer, Jean Hannaford, followed along the same lines as she explored European settlement in central Texas and the extent that these cultures had on the area. She studied the European source areas of the immigrants, the areas they migrated to, and the cultural adaptations made by the various Europeans once they settled in their new homeland. She concluded her study by stating that of all the European groups that migrated to Texas the Germans were one of the four most important. Lauren Kattner looked at the Texas Germans in an urban setting. Her study demonstrated how German culture impacted those who grew up in New Braunfels in the town's formative years. Her project is the only one that explored culture within the town, but it is very brief and focuses only on youth culture.⁴ It is time to study in depth German Texan contributions to urban development. The main question thus raised is did the Germans who migrated to Texas develop their towns and communities different from the host culture group, the Anglo Texans?

study the group will be referred to as the Adelsverein.

³ Terry Jordan, "Population Origins in Texas, 1850" *The Geographical Review* 59 (1969), 97.

⁴ For sources see footnote number 1.

D.W. Meinig wrote about the contributions of Anglos to Texas culture, as well as many other ethnic groups including the Germans. His work broke Texas into nine distinct culture areas with the Anglos and their culture dominating most of the nine regions. Jordan-Bychkov also focused on Texas as an ethnically diverse state, much as Meinig did, but added much needed statistical data and detailed maps to document not only German contributions, but Anglo as well. He traced the origins of Anglo migration to Texas and the establishment of an Anglo Texas homeland.⁵ Both documented the growth and cultural dominance of this group. None, though, focus specifically on U.S. southern Anglo cultural contributions to town development. These studies will help, though, to build an historical framework for this study.

Daniel D. Arreola and James Curtis are two geographers who studied and wrote about the cultural impact on town development in Texas. Arreola studied Mexican American cultural impacts in terms of urban morphology and their cultural significance. His research took items from the landscape, such as the town plaza, traced their origins, and how they changed in relation to surrounding cultures, even the Anglo culture. Curtis compared the central business districts of the border town Laredo, Texas with that of Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. He noted the differences and similarities in the types and distributions of selected commercial activities. However, their works focus on the Mexican cultural group.⁶ Christopher Shane Davies is another geographer writing about

⁵ Terry G. Jordan, "The Anglo-Texas Homeland," *Journal of Cultural Geography*, Vol 13, No. 2 (1993), 75-86; Jordan, "A Century and a Half of Ethnic Change in Texas, 1836-1936," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 89 (1986), 38-52; and Jordan, "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South on Mid-Nineteenth Century Texas," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 57 (December, 1967), 667-690.

⁶ Daniel D. Arreola, "The Mexican American Cultural Capital," *Geographical Review*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (January 1987), 17-34; "Plaza Towns of South Texas," *Geographical Review*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (January

urban development in Texas, but he does not specifically look at any one group of people or one specific town.⁷ Susan W. Hardwick examined the Texas port town, Galveston, and how ethnic diversity shaped the community of many different levels raising the possibility of a distinct “American Third Coast” culture region.⁸ All these works serve as models for the present study comparing New Braunfels and San Marcos.

There is one work worth noting very similar in the approach used in this research project and does not involve Texas, or even an area within the United States. John Cole and Eric Wolf researched the ecology and ethnicity of two Alpine villages in northern Italy. Their work examined the Romance speaking village of Tret and compared it to the German speaking community of St. Felix. The towns both existed virtually side-by-side on a mountain with only the mountain peak separating them. They researched these two villages historical background, the use of their physical surroundings in terms of agriculture and land holdings, and studied how these two places handled change through the centuries.⁹ Thus, the methods employed in this study share a similar approach by one used in another part of the world. However, instead of researching small mountain villages in existence for hundreds of years, this work involves the development of two more recently founded Texas urban centers.

1992): 56-73, “Urban Ethnic Landscape,” *Geographical Review*, Vol. 85 (October 1995), 518-534, and *Tejano South Texas: A Mexican American Cultural Province*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002, and James R. Curtis, “Central Business Districts of the Two Laredos,” *Geographical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (January 1993): 54-65.

⁷ Christopher S. Davies, “Life at the Edge: Urban and Industrial Evolution of Texas, Frontier Wilderness – Frontier Space, 1836-1986,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 89 (1986), 443-554.

⁸ Susan Wiley Hardwick, *Mythic Galveston: Reinventing America’s Third Coast*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2002).

⁹ John W. Cole and Eric R. Wolf, *The Hidden Frontier: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley*, (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

New Braunfels was the first Texas town of significance founded by the Germans.¹⁰ After New Braunfels other Hill Country towns followed such as Fredericksburg, Comfort, Boerne, and Mason. Of these New Braunfels grew fastest and quickly became the node of this newly founded German ethnic island. Prince Solms-Braunfels, who helped establish the town in 1845, designated the community to serve as a way station for other migrating Germans on their way to other Adelsverein property located further west of New Braunfels. The property purchased, however, by the Adelsverein was lost because of a bad business deal. New Braunfels, as a result, became the focal point of Germans migrating to Texas. Partly for that reason, New Braunfels is the chosen town for this study.

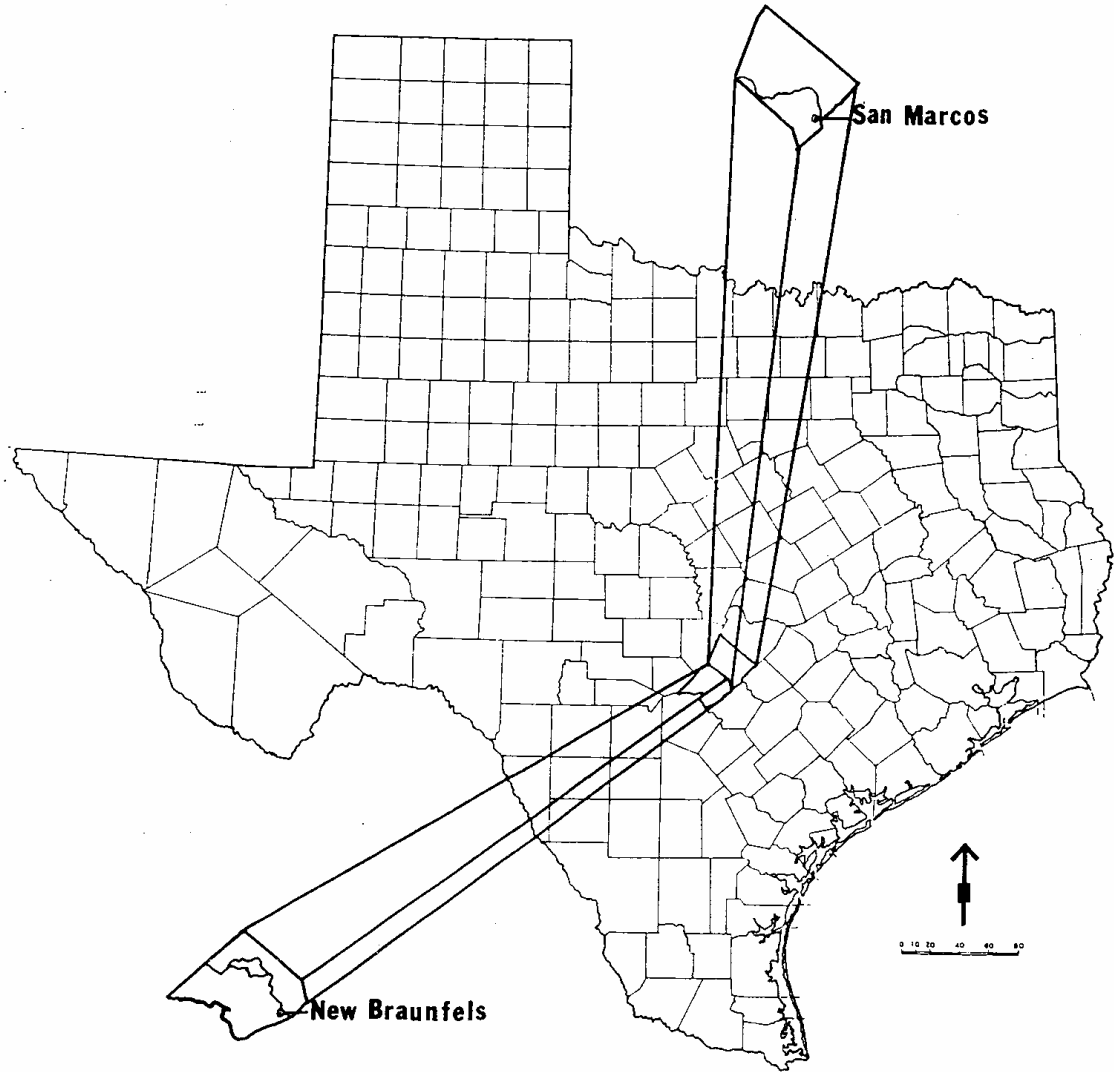
In order to better understand how a minority cultural group in Texas went about developing an urban community, they need to be compared against the dominant cultural group. In Texas the Anglo population is the dominant group, or the host cultural group. San Marcos, a community founded by Southern Anglos to the northeast of New Braunfels serves as a good comparison. What is significant for this study is the physical location of the two communities (see Figure 1.1)¹¹. In order to consider the cultural elements involved in town development it is best to compare places situated in similar habitats and locations. It will be possible then to examine how different cultural factors

¹⁰ Industry and Cat Spring were German towns in existence prior to New Braunfels, but they did not flourish and today they are virtually gone. They are marked with a sign and all that is there are a few small homesteads. There were other Texas towns with large German populations such as San Antonio and Galveston, but Germans did not found them. The focus of this study is to examine a German town that was founded by Germans and a place where Germans lived in large numbers throughout the time frame of this study.

¹¹ Figure courtesy of Terry Jordan-Bychkov.

STUDY AREAS

HAYS COUNTY



COMAL COUNTY

play out in identical type of locations. These common traits allow for a “laboratory” like setting to study cultural impact upon town development. San Marcos fits this bill.

Figure1.1

Another point that will aid this study is that the two groups both begin their communities in the 1840s. The timeframe of the work will be from this initial settlement period to the beginning of the 1880s when the first railroads came to the area. The study stops at this time because the railroad breaks part of the isolation these two communities experienced from their initial settlement until their arrival. The only infiltration of outside culture to New Braunfels and San Marcos comes from outside mail and newspapers, stagecoaches, travelers and visitors who pass through town, and outside trade.

What will also make the project work besides San Marcos's nearly identical physical location and its proximity to New Braunfels is that the people of these two communities interacted with each other. This interaction between the two cultural groups will only add another dimension to the study. As these two groups moved about and through this area they developed their own perspective about their surroundings and their communities. The perceptions held by these groups will be compared to each other in this project. Geographer William D. Pattison separately described the four geographic traditions as spatial, area studies, man-land, and earth science, but stated that geography "concurrently pursues all four of them."¹² This study is no different. Using the geographical themes of movement, perceptions, urban morphology and economic development can help determine how the diffusion of two cultural groups into similar locations and the perceptions they held about the land in determining the role that culture played as they reshaped the physical environment to build their communities along the edge of the Balcones Escarpment.

Physical Elements of the Study Region

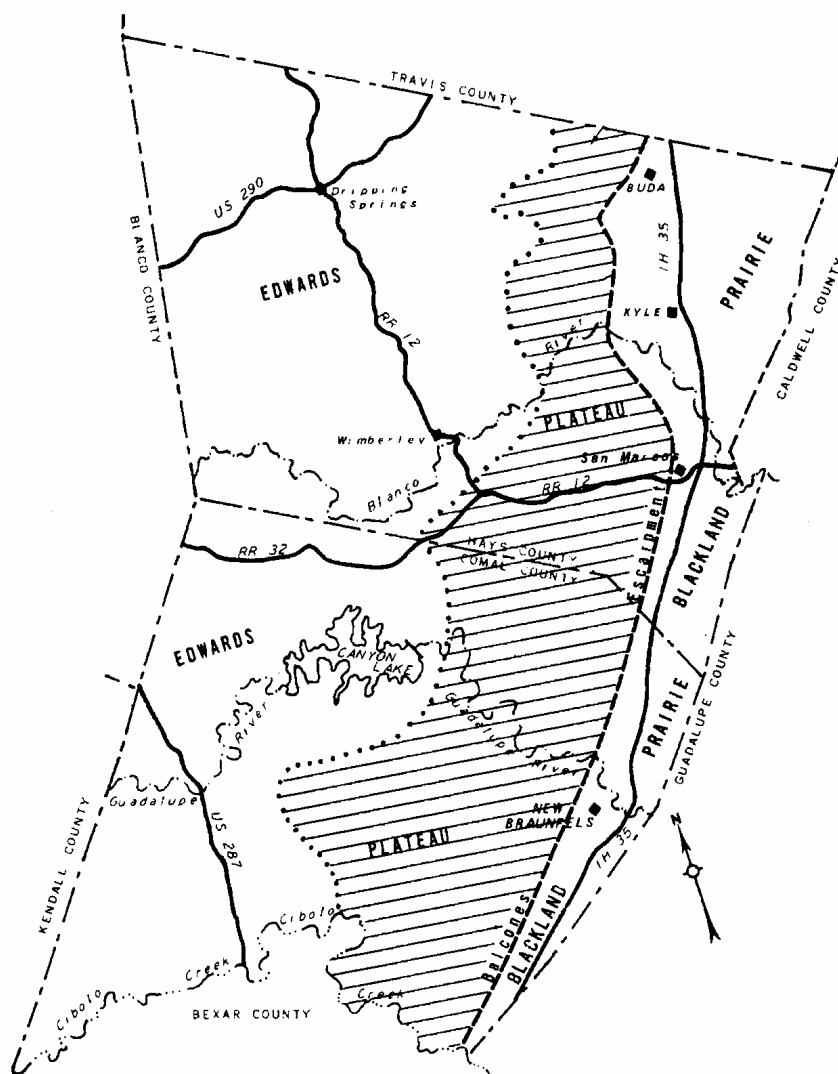
New Braunfels, located in Comal County, and San Marcos in Hays County share many physical traits. First is their location (see Figure 1.2).¹³ The two towns lie approximately twenty miles apart from each other in south central Texas. This proximity is the leading factor to explain many similar physical traits. They are both located at the foot of the Balcones Escarpment facing out to the Blackland Prairie. The escarpment serves as a stark dividing line between soils and physical appearance.

Rivers and natural springs provide water for the two communities. There are four rivers that run through the two counties, the Blanco, San Marcos, Guadalupe, and Comal. All run in a southeasterly direction towards the Gulf of Mexico, but the Guadalupe is the only one that empties into the Gulf. The Blanco drains into the San Marcos, which meets up with the Guadalupe River near the city of Gonzales. The Comal connects with the Guadalupe River in New Braunfels. The drainage basin of these rivers is the Guadalupe River Basin area, which also contain the springs emanating from the Balcones fault zone that created the Balcones Escarpment.¹⁴ The San Marcos River flows through the community of San Marcos. The source of the San Marcos River is the San Marcos Springs, the second largest set of springs in Texas. These springs pump a maximum of 115,000 gallons per minute and average a flow of 107 million gallons a day. The Blanco river which begins in Blanco county, located to the northwest of Hays County, runs

¹² William D. Pattison, "The Four Traditions of Geography," *Journal of Geography* (September/October 1990) 202-206.

¹³ United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, In Cooperation with Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Soil Survey of Comal and Hays Counties Texas (June 1984)*, pg 2, by Charles D. Batte.

Figure 1.2 Land Resource Areas in Comal and Hays County



through Hays and eventually joins the San Marcos river below the town of San Marcos.

The Guadalupe River is the longer and larger of the two rivers that flow through New Braunfels. The other is the Comal River, and like the San Marcos River is supported by natural springs. The Comal Springs are the source of the Comal and is the largest set of

¹⁴ Terry G. Jordan with John L. Bean, Jr., and William M. Homes, *Texas: A Geography*, (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1984), 40.

springs in Texas. While the spring flow varies year to year, the daily average flow from the Comal Springs is 184 million gallons and per minute minimum flow of 112,500 gallons and a maximum of 157,000 gallons.¹⁵ These water sources pulled other groups of people to settle the area long before the arrival of the Germans and Southern Anglos. Archeological evidence shows human habitation in both areas dating back to 9,200 years ago.¹⁶

These two communities are found in the Cwd¹⁷ climate type of a modified Köppen climate classification.¹⁸ (See Figure 1.3)¹⁹ New Braunfels and San Marcos occupy a mesothermal region where the majority of time the years are humid and experience a mean annual temperature of 73.2 degrees Fahrenheit. Winter is the dry season though seasonal variability is not all that great. Within this zone there are also occasional years where desert-like conditions are experienced. The reason for this is that the two communities exist not far from the 100th meridian, the traditional dividing line between the humid, wetter climate of the eastern half of the United States from the dry climate of the western half of the country.²⁰ The proximity to this transition zone accounts

¹⁵ U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, *Soil Survey*, 3.

¹⁶ Hugh Williamson, "San Marcos, River Town." *Texas Parade*, Vol. 12, No. 7 (December 1951), 15-19; and "San Marcos, Texas (Hays County)," n.d., n.p., Vertical files, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

¹⁷ The Köppen classification of "C" represents mesothermal climate zones. A mesothermal climate is one where coolest-month temperatures average between 32 and 64.4 degrees Fahrenheit. The lower case "w" represents a dry winter season and the "d" indicates occasional dry years. For a more detailed discussion of the Köppen system as applied to Texas see Richard Joel Russell's article "Climates of Texas," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 35 (June 1945), 37-52.

¹⁸ The modified Köppen system referred to here is found in the article "Climates of Texas." The modifications were made by Russell, the author of the article.

¹⁹ Terry Jordan, *Texas: A Geography*, 25.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 44-47.

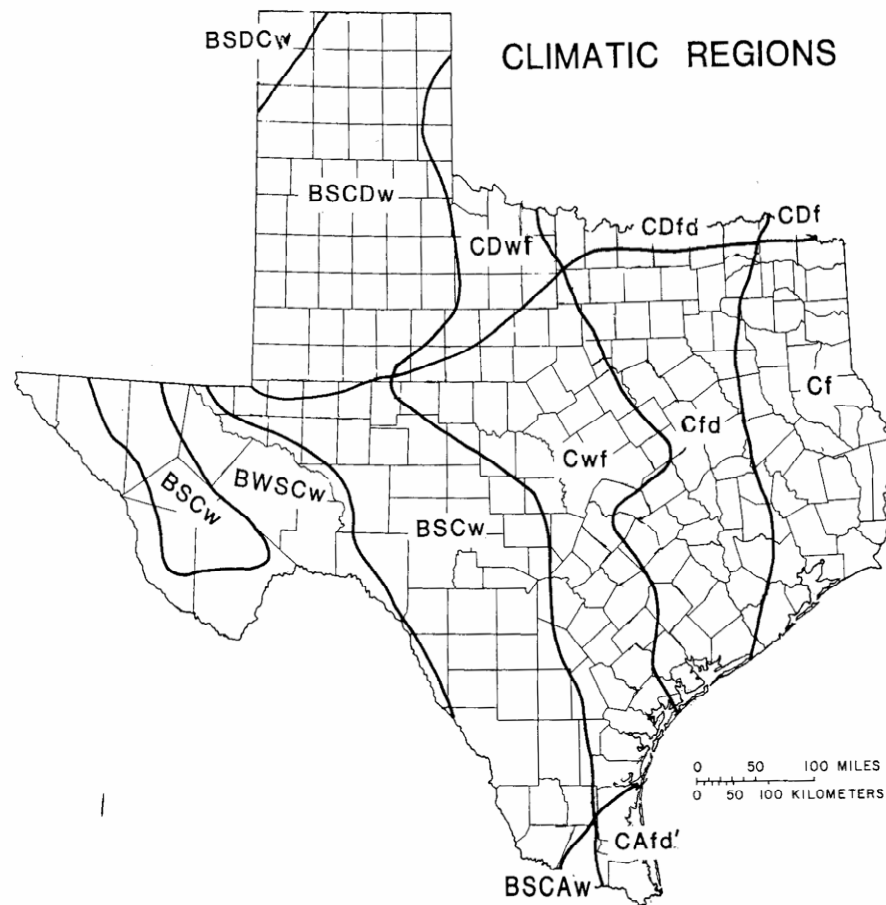


Figure 1.3 Climatic Regions of Texas

for the periodical dry years. The average first freeze occurs in the first weeks of November while the latest freeze averages towards the end of March. These averages allow a growing season of 240 to 270 days.²¹ In relation to the freeze dates, the shortest growing season is listed at 238 days.²²

Another climate factor to include is annual precipitation. The study region receives approximately thirty-three inches of rainfall per year. Fifty-seven percent falls through the wetter season from April through September. Flashfloods in the spring and

²¹ Jordan, Bean, Holmes, *Texas*, 22.

fall are also common in the area. Snowfall rarely occurs. Ninety percent of winters see no snowfall leaving the remaining ten percent measuring two inches or less per the winter season.²³

The soils found in and around New Braunfels and San Marcos are highly varied. Those of the prairies below the Escarpment are classified as vertisols, locally called Lewisville-Gruene-Krum soils. These soils are typically found in the Blackland Prairie area that is adjacent to the Edwards Plateau. These soils are dark grayish brown in color, moderately permeable, and found in level to gently sloping areas. Soil depths range from shallow to deep levels up to fifty-eight inches. These soils are suitable for crops and pasture. The other vertisol of significance to New Braunfels and San Marcos is the Heiden-Houston-Black soil group. (See Figures 1.4 and 1.5)²⁴ These soils are also found in the Blackland Prairie in areas ranging from deep to gently sloping terrains found along

²² Soil Survey, 97.

²³ Ibid., 4.

²⁴ Ibid., np.

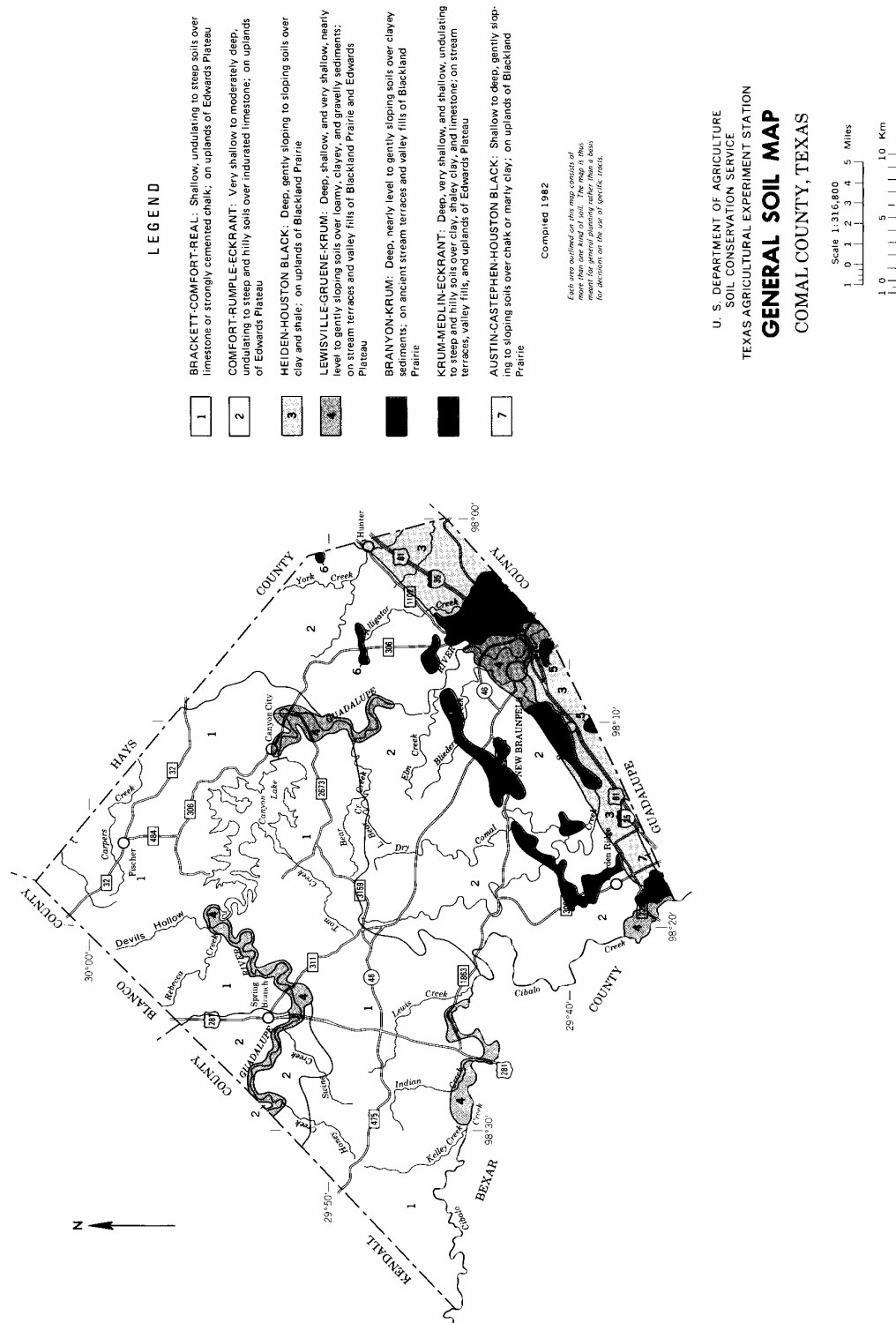


Fig1.4 General Soil Map Comal County

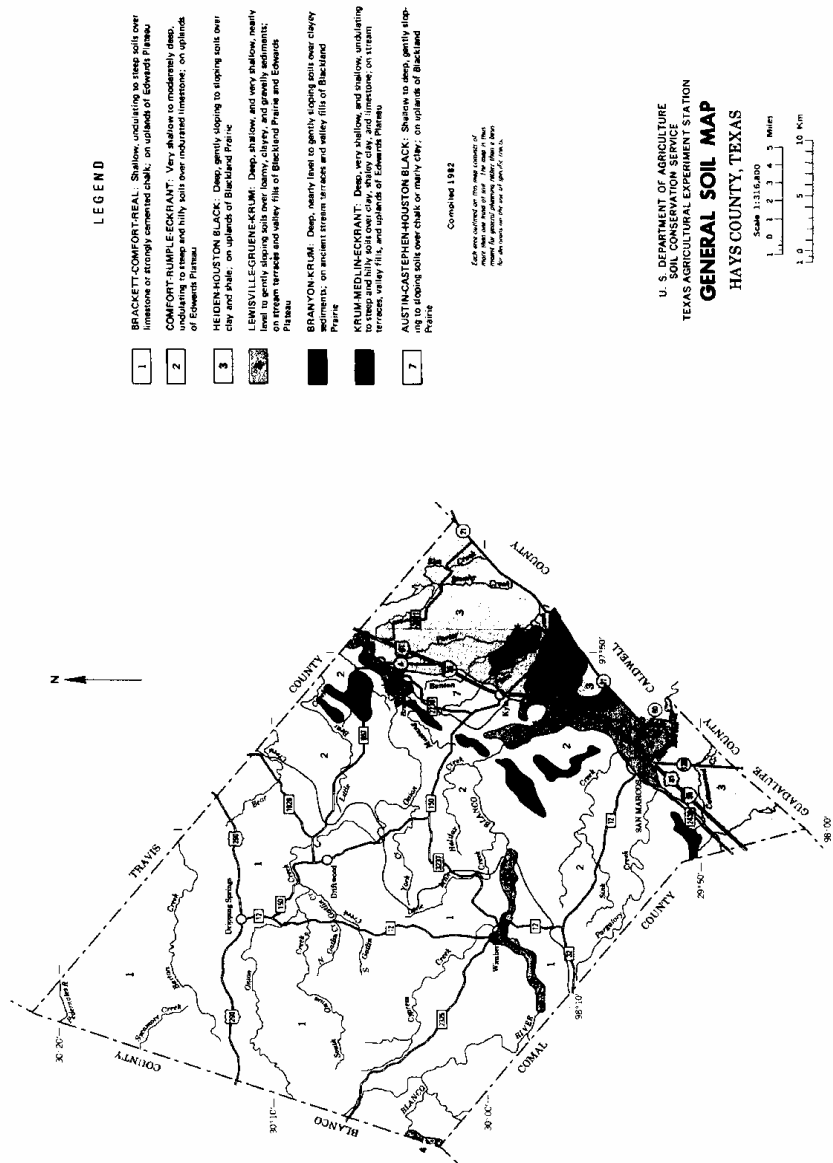


Fig 1.5 General Soil Map Hays County

the edge of the Balcones Escarpment. These soils are higher in clay content which leads to the classic swelling and shrink patterns typical of vertisol soils. Soil depths reach levels of seventy inches. They are suited for crops such as cotton and grain sorghum, as well as pasture and rangeland.²⁵

Above the Escarpment and extending into part of San Marcos are the mollisols of the Texas Hill Country. They vary in color from dark brown to dark gray. Since they are located on the Edwards Plateau, they are found on hills and steep slopes on top of the limestone bed that makes up the Plateau. Locally called the Comfort-Rumple-Eckrant soils, these are much shallower than the vertisolic Lewisville-Gruene-Krum soils, are on steeper slopes and contain high portions of broken limestone, which do not allow for the retention of moisture like the Lewisville group. Therefore, these soils are less suited for crops and pasture, except for the areas that have deeper soil levels that can be found in valleys. They are better suited for rangeland.

The area contains a diverse collection of vegetation and trees. On the Edwards Plateau above the escarpment, the native grasses include the buffalo and mesquite grass varieties. Some of the larger plants and shrubs include goldenrod, ragweed, and the agarita bush. Some of the better known deciduous trees include the many Oak varieties, Cedar Elm, Pecan, Mesquite, Redbud, Mulberry, Texas Persimmon and Texas Mountain Laurel. The one evergreen variety in large supply is the Juniper, or more commonly known as Cedar. Animal life is found in abundance. Bobwhite quail, dove,

²⁵ Ibid., 5-10.

rabbit, whitetail deer, turkey, squirrel, raccoon, skunk, opossum, bobcat, and coyote are some of the better-known animals of the region.²⁶ Below the escarpment and into the Blackland Prairie the vegetation changes. Grasses dominate this region with grama, buffalo and bluestem grasses found in abundance. In isolated areas there are the same shrub and tree types as found on the plateau, but the one tree variety not found below the escarpment is the juniper.²⁷ Since grasses dominate this area larger animals such as the whitetail deer find it difficult to find adequate shelter and are seldom seen below the escarpment. The other smaller species listed above, however, can be found in abundance on the Blackland prairie.

These are the shared habitats that the Germans and Southern Anglos found when they established towns in the 1840s. Other shared elements of an economic nature further strengthened the comparative approach of this study. Both towns were built along the shared travel route of the older Spanish road -- “El Camino Real.” Later they both shared a railroad line, the International and Great Northern Railroad, or better known as the I-G N line. By the 1870s it was clear that these two communities were the largest in their respective counties, which lead to their political dominance that ended in both serving as their county’s respective seat of government.

Purpose of the Study

In this “laboratory,” I determine whether the two settler groups of southern Anglos and Germans made a difference in the development of their respective towns. Stephen F. Austin, the Anglo colony-founder, passed through the region in 1821 on his

²⁶ Soil Survey, 53-54

way to San Antonio and commented that the land between the Guadalupe and San Marcos rivers was the “most beautiful he had ever seen.” He believed that the waters could be harnessed for mills and rerouted for irrigation canals to be used in agricultural fields. Austin did not encounter any Indian groups, see signs of or write about any previous settlement attempts. The land was finally parceled out to Juan Martin de Veramendi 1825 by the newly independent Mexican government. Veramendi hoped to establish another community along the San Marcos river on his newly acquired eleven leagues of land, but his death shortly after ended those plans. His daughter, Josepha Garza, who acquired the rights to the land did not develop the land either and it lay basically unused except for local Indian groups who passed through and often set up temporary encampments in the area as they hunted game.²⁸ After thousands of years of human habitation no group had left a significant permanent cultural imprint upon the study area that is until the arrival of the U.S. southern Anglos and the European Germans.

The arrival of these two groups starting in the 1840s began the town-building phase. Another important fact with these larger groups was their cultural impact upon the landscape. As Wilbur Zelinsky pointed out when large groups move into an area there will be “appreciable modification” of the region and its culture. It matters when people move into an area and interact “with other localized or spatially structured phenomena.” Culture is important enough in a region to place it on the same level as “technological, social, or ideological” dimensions. Zelinsky further stated “a particular culture, or

²⁷ Jordan, et al., *Texas*, 29.

²⁸ Francis Stovall, et al, *Clear Springs and Limestone Ledges, A History of San Marcos and Hays County for the Texas Sesquicentennial* (San Marcos: Hays County Historical Commission, 1986), 1-21, Texas Historical Records Survey, 5.

combination of subcultures, helps impart to an area much of its special character and behavioral design.”²⁹ As noted by him this is what geography is all about and this is what this study is about. When all things are equal, in this case the land, what difference does culture make? With the southern Anglos and the Germans both settling in a similar location, one has the ability to look at “particular cultures” and cultural groups in an area where no other group has made a cultural stronghold. It is possible to examine the cultural process from its inception to and through the early urban building phase of these two communities when they are relatively isolated from strong outside forces.

²⁹ Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall), 76-77.

Chapter Two
Gone to Texas!
Perceptions that Pull and Push People to a New Home

Reasons to Leave: The Germans

Germans and Anglos from the southern United States began to lay the foundations for their communities, New Braunfels and San Marcos, in the mid 1840s. People need reasons to come to a new settlement. Decisions made by people to leave a home and move to another area are many. Less than satisfactory living conditions and personal opportunities that cause a person to leave his or her home are called push factors. Low incomes, lack of a job and economic mobility, political turmoil, war, disease, famine, or an overall dissatisfaction with a homeland are just a few push factors. Push factors are most always negative in scope and usually result in voluntary migration. If push factors are the negative, positive forces are the pull factors. Better incomes, job opportunities, economic mobility, better political and personal freedoms, military stability, healthier climates, ample food supplies, and a positive description of the land that beckons are some pull factors. Perception is another element not to be ignored. When an individual perceives the place where he or she lives is no longer satisfactory, the personal cost of staying there becomes high. If the individual perceives another place to be better, then the pull factors draw the person to the new location.³⁰

Germans came to Texas searching for better lives. They were like other European emigrants who left their homes searching for economic opportunities, the opportunity to

³⁰ Terry Jordan-Bychkov and Mona Domosh, *The Human Mosaic: A Thematic Introduction to Cultural Geography*, 9th ed. (New York: W.H. Freeman and Co., 2003), 230-231; Jerone D. Fellman, Arthur Getis, Judith Getis, *Human Geography: Landscapes of Human Activities*, 6th ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 2001); 86-87.

own land, and more personal freedom. As geographer Terry Jordan-Bychkov noted, rural migrants left Germany as farm fragmentation and overpopulation made practicing agriculture an increasingly difficult task. In areas where only single heirs received land, other family members found it difficult to make a living. Potato blights swept across Germany in 1845, and poor harvests in 1846 and 1847 did not help matters. Food shortages as well as land shortages served to push people from their homes.³¹

People living in urban areas had their problems as well. A growing industrial sector increased the number of available jobs in urban centers during the 19th century. However, more people came to cities looking for work than there were jobs available, which resulted in overcrowded urban conditions. Growing cities also meant larger university populations and an increased number of graduates. This group only added to the already tight competition for the available jobs. Thus many college graduates found it difficult finding work after completion of their studies.³² Increased industrialization also meant a decrease in the need for home industry and it put these people into direct competition with factory workers. Factory owners grew wealthy at the expense of underpaid workers creating a growing gap between the small number of wealthy and the over expanding number of poor. The wealthy industrialist also tightly controlled who participated in industrialization and left little room for budding entrepreneurs to join the

³¹ Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas 1831-1861* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 38.

³² Walter Struve, *Germans and Texans: Commerce, Migration and Culture in the Days of the Lone Star Republic* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 13-16, Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil*, 38.

industrialist class. For these people who did not receive their fair share, emigration proved a promising reward.³³

Another issue that pushed some people out involved the intellectuals and other well-educated Germans caught up in the turmoil of the failed 1848 political revolution. Many in this group found it easier to leave Germany than endure the personal hardships they faced brought on by the conservatives who remained in power after their attempted removal. For a small group then, intellectual and political freedom was another reason to emigrate.³⁴ Finally, enforced military service along with the heavy taxation pressed upon the German people to pay for the Napoleonic wars of the early 1800s and to support an aristocracy were enough to have many move from their homeland and come to Texas.³⁵ These aforementioned push factors are quite evident in an 1844 German newspaper article discussing German emigration and the founding of the Adelsverein. A German writer remarked at that time that:

Many causes are working together to increase emigration: the displacement of manual labor by machinery, the great periodic depressions which affect commerce, the increasing poverty, caused by overpopulation and the lack of employment, the reported productivity of the land in the new country, and the hope of improving one's condition across the seas.³⁶

Push factors are not the only forces involved when people migrate. There are also factors that helped pull Germans to Texas with reports received from those who had gone

³³ Rudolph L. Bieseke, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1930, reprint 1964), 4-5.

³⁴ Jordan, 39. and also see Bruce Levin, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992) and A.E. Zuker, ed. *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950).

³⁵ Bieseke, *History of the German Settlements*, 7.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 83-84.

before being the most powerful. The most famous of all the reports was the letter written by Fritz Ernst, a man often heralded as the one responsible for large scale German immigration to Texas.³⁷ His 1831 letter to his friend Schwarz in Oldenburg and additional printings of it in travel journals and newspapers was the spark that ignited German migration to Texas.³⁸ In 1843 two important visitors came to Texas and spoke with Fritz Ernst. Prince Victor Leiningen and Count Boos-Waldeck, who were sent by the Adelsverein, met with the author of this letter. The positive results of the visit set into motion the largest German migration movement to Texas.³⁹

As news of Texas traveled to Germany it influenced people to come. Hermann Seele, who would join the first settlers in New Braunfels and serve as the town's educator, first heard about Texas from acquaintances and felt his destiny lay across the ocean in this place. Like many others he read guidebooks on Texas. One in particular, *Texas und seine Revolution*, sparked his interest. Hermann Ehrenberg wrote the travelogue upon returning to Germany after fighting in the Texas Revolution and living in Texas for a while. The popular book, like Ernst's letter, convinced many to come. Seele wrote in his diary that after reading it he was "pleased in particular by its

³⁷ Ibid, 47.

³⁸ Ernst's letter is widely known and referenced in written works about the Germans in Texas. See Terry Jordan-Bychkov and Mona Domosh, *Human Mosaic*; Walter Struve, *Germans and Texans*, 44-45; Glen E. Lich, *The German Texans* (San Antonio: University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1981): 38-73; Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil*, 40-43; Bieseke, *History of the German Settlements*, 43-47, and Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas: A Study in Immigration*, first published in 1910, (Austin: Jenkins Publishing Co., 1974), 7-19.

³⁹ Bieseke, *History of the German Settlements*, 47.

description of the country and the conditions and the discussion of its natural beauty.”⁴⁰

In the fall of 1843 he set off for Texas full of enthusiasm for a fresh new start.

Seele kept detailed notes of his life both before and after he came to Texas. He did so with the intentions of publishing the work to serve as a guide for others who might follow him. He recorded the whole process of making the decision to migrate, the journey over and the work it took to reestablish himself in a foreign land, which allows a glimpse into the perceptions and pull factors for these early German emigrants. On December 9, 1843 after several weeks at sea Seele finally glimpsed the shore of Texas and thanked God and felt blessed to see his new homeland. The rough sea journey now over, he surely felt glad to see any land, but he wrote this land was free for his “new free life.” He further stated that it was “for my loved ones, the promised land.”⁴¹

Seele arrived in Texas a few years before the Adelsverein began sending large numbers of German emigrants. Like other Germans, he settled in the area around the Brazos River. This is the region where Ernst settled and wrote his glowing reports of the region. Seele’s first observations were no different from Ernst and these first impressions are important for they were the ones he used in his letters back home to be read by the people there. His diary entries during the time spent there contain moments of homesickness and reports of hard struggles, but the majority of them express a very positive portrayal of his new home. He wrote about eating like a prince, being welcomed almost everywhere he went, and receiving praises for his hard work. He was particularly complimentary of the landscape mentioning prairies surrounded by abundant trees of all

⁴⁰ Theodore Gish, trans., *The Diary of Hermann Seele and Seele’s Sketches from Texas*, (Austin: German-

sorts, grasses ample enough to feed many cattle, and soils just right for farming.⁴² Thus, all these descriptions shaped the perceptions of the Germans and portrayed Texas as a promise land not to be turned down.

Reasons to Leave: The Southern Anglos

Southern Anglos had their reasons for moving west. One of the major push factors behind southern Anglo migration was soil exhaustion from overproduction of cotton and tobacco. By the 1820s and well through the 1850s men were moving their families and for those who practiced slavery, their slaves to areas such as Tennessee, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and Texas searching for fertile lands.⁴³ Even though these moves could be quite expensive,⁴⁴ the perception for some southerners was staying where they were presented a bleak economic future. A bleak future and tired land meant less opportunity for many to make a living and accumulate wealth. These reasons served as another push factor. The Civil War temporarily interrupted the migratory flow west, but once it was over there was a renewal of migration.

Westward expansion of southern Anglos into Texas began in 1820 with the institution of the empresario system by the Spanish government, a system that would leave a lasting impression upon early Texas migration patterns.⁴⁵ The first southern

Texan Heritage Society, 1995), 24.

⁴¹ Ibid., 75.

⁴² Ibid., 148-157.

⁴³ Joan E. Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991): 33; Frank Lawrence Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), 23-89.

⁴⁴ One estimation of costs to move a plantation from a southern Atlantic state to another region in the southwest was \$60,000. This figure includes the costs of buying and clearing 100-200 acres of land, moving family and up to twenty slaves, tools, and livestock. See Joan Cashin, *A Family Venture*, 40.

⁴⁵ Rupert N. Richardson, Adrian Anderson, Cary D. Wintz, and Ernest Wallace, *Texas: The Lone Star State*, 8th Ed., (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2001), 57.

Anglo empresario was Moses Austin who hailed from Missouri. The Austin land grant was centered around the Colorado and Brazos river valley region. Upon his death in 1821, his son Stephen F. Austin fulfilled the contract and brought the first settlers onto the land, now part of Mexico after a successful fight for independence from Spain. The younger Austin quickly went about establishing communities such as San Felipe in 1824.⁴⁶

The settlers who came with him received generous land terms. Farm families received one labor (177 acres) of land. Families engaged in the raising of stock received a sitio, which consisted of 4,428 acres of land. Logically, most families applied for sitios.⁴⁷ As a result of the ample land portions, colonization efforts proved successful. The 1825 regional census numbers showed some 1,800 settlers in the area “of which 443 [were] slaves” and there seemed no end in sight to Anglo migration. This growing Anglo population alarmed the Mexican government to the point that they passed the Law of April 6, 1830 that forbade any more Anglo American immigrants into Texas. However, it did little to stop the flow of people into Texas for records show that “by 1831 there were 5,665 counted in the census.”⁴⁸

There were land grants to Mexican citizens. Some even played a role in later Anglo and German migration. The Juan Veramendi family received land from the Mexican government in 1831. Their land was located not only in present day Hays and Comal counties, but they were also the owners of the land sold to the Adelsverein who would established New Braunfels on this property in 1845 and to Gen. Burleson and

⁴⁶ Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil*, 22-24.

William Lindsey who would set aside some land and establish San Marcos in 1847. Another Mexican national, Juan Vicente Campos, obtained land in April 1832. The Campos grant contained eleven leagues of land and now comprises a large portion of Hays County.⁴⁹

Texans fought for and won their independence in 1836. Under the Republic of Texas immigrants from the southern United States continued to arrive. Texas leaders continued the empresario system. Four major empresario agreements occurred during this time that furthered Anglo and European migration. Two were given to Henry Castro, who laid out the town of Castroville in 1844, and the last to Henry F. Fisher and Burchard Miller, who later sold their grant to the Adelsverein. Thus, two land grants played a role in European migration with one playing a very important role in the formation of New Braunfels.⁵⁰

The United States officially annexed Texas on December 29, 1845 and opened the floodgate for immigration. By 1850 U.S. Census records showed the population of Texas to be 212,592 persons, up from the 142,009 counted in 1847. By 1860 the count was a little over 600,000 inhabitants, a number almost three times larger than that of the previous decade.⁵¹ Three-fourths were born outside Texas with Tennessee being the largest contributor and Arkansas coming in second.⁵² A little over 43,000 came from outside the United States with those from Germany being the largest group at 20,553

⁴⁷ Richardson, et al, *Texas*, 66.

⁴⁸ Richardson, et al, *Texas*, 71-72; Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil*, 24.

⁴⁹ Dudley R. Dobie, *A Brief History of Hays County and San Marcos, Texas* (San Marcos, n.p., 1948), 15.

⁵⁰ Richardson, et al, *Texas*, 151.

⁵¹ Jordan, *German Seed*, 27.

individuals. It was at this time of population expansion that San Marcos and New Braunfels became towns.⁵³

Acquiring Land for New Homes

Prince Carl von Solms-Braunfels is largely responsible for establishing New Braunfels. Prince Braunfels first arrived in Texas in July 1844 representing the Adelsverein as Commissioner-General. His duty was to begin the German colonization process by overseeing land and supply purchases, money management, and the safe harbor and transport of colonists. By late summer of 1844 the Prince realized he had problems, which were significant because they led to the site and situation of New Braunfels. The problems began when the Adelsverein lost their initial land grant, the Bourgeois-Ducos grant, located along the Medina River. Braunfels worried that another land grant large enough to settle all German emigrants would be difficult to find as each colonist was promised one hundred acres of land. Adelsverein members agreed that they would establish communities with at least one hundred families in each settlement in order to keep “the advantages of living together as a unit, keeping the habits of their native land and their nationality instead of living in small groups isolated from each other.” The standard land issue at that time in Texas was a league, or 4,428 acres. The intent with each granted league was to settle half with families and save the other land portion to sell at a future date to produce revenue and profits for the colonizing group. Using this formula, as pointed out by Braunfels himself, would only settle twenty-two families upon one league of land. If the Adelsverein carried out its promise of one

⁵² Chapter Three of this study offers an in-depth examination of the source areas for New Braunfels and

hundred families per community, at least five leagues of land, or 22,140 acres, would be needed to meet the requirement. Compounding the issue was the group expected to bring thousands of Germans to Texas to be settled in communities near one another. Braunfels, having lost the initial grant, was challenged to find a solid piece of land at least several hundred thousand acres in size.⁵⁴

Prince Braunfels thought he solved the problem when he purchased the Fisher-Miller land grant in June of 1844. This grant consisted of 3,878,000 million acres, which amply met all the requirements set forth by the Adelsverein.⁵⁵ (See Figure 2.1)⁵⁶ The grant's location, as described to Braunfels by the surveyor Colonel John Coffee Hays,⁵⁷

Starts at the springs of the Llano River, follows the left bank of the same to the Colorado River and extends up on to a point where a line 45 degrees N.W. from the beginning intersects the Colorado. The land along the Colorado is claimed throughout the grant . . . It is hilly, but still choice land with plenty of good soil, well forested and watered; and since large stretches of land are still unclaimed, it is the most superior of all the grants.⁵⁸

San Marcos.

⁵³ Richardson, et al, *Texas*, 146, 170.

⁵⁴ Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels, "Second Report to the Directors of the Adelsverein on the German colonization in Texas, 1844-1847," Charles and Esther Geue trans, *A New Land Beckoned: German Immigration to Texas, 1844-1847*, (Waco: Texian Press, 1966), 25-34.

⁵⁵ John O. Meusebach, *Answer to Interrogatories in Case No. 396, Mary C. Paschal et al, vs. Theodore Evans, District Court of McCulloch County, Texas*, November Term, 1893 (Austin: Pemberton Press, reprint 1964), 4.

⁵⁶ Used with permission, Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil*, 45.

⁵⁷ Colonel John Coffee Hays surveyed the first useable wagon route from Austin and San Antonio across western Texas to El Paso. He was also a Ranger and participated in several Indian wars in Texas. This background explains why he would know the land so well and be able to describe the located to Prince Braunfels. Dudley R. Dobie, *A Brief History of Hays County*, 17.

⁵⁸ Prince Solms- Braunfels, "Third Report to the Adelsverein Committee, 26 August 1844," *A New Land Beckoned*, Geue trans., 35.

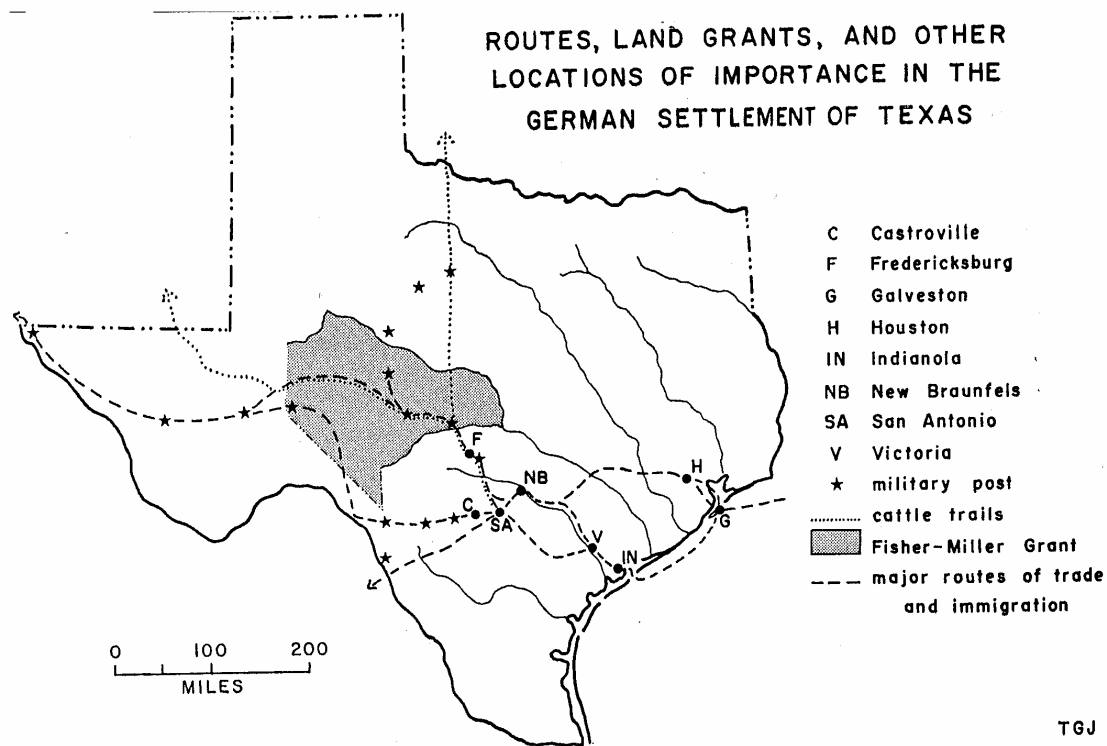


Figure 2.1

While this grant would provide every settler the one hundred acres of land, it created yet another problem. The site offered many possibilities with its water, soil, and building materials, three elements essential for building human settlements, but its situation, or its location in relation to other urban settlements and transportation nodes, proved to be the problem. The new land grant was even further west than the Adelsverein original land grant. Braunfels quickly surmised that they would not be able to establish their first settlement upon this land because of its remoteness and the difficulty of transporting the

colonists directly to this location. Complicating the situation further was the fact that Comanches also lived on this land. As Prince Braunfels stated, “the location of the grant cannot be reached by ox cart via Austin. From here the distance [to the grant] is 80 miles, and to the coast it is 140 miles, a distance of 220 miles to transport settlers and provisions to a tract of land from which the Indians must first be driven.”⁵⁹ He realized that more land needed to be purchased by the Adelsverein to set up a way station for German colonists to stop at in order for them to rest and resupply their wagons on their way to the Fisher-Miller grant. The situation only worsened as German colonists began arriving on Texas shores in December 1844 with more on their way. With no place to settle these people except at the harbor location of Indianola, Braunfels knew time was running out before those people would quickly become disgruntled with their situation and would complain to him. Braunfels quickly set out to find a location to establish this way station.

The ideal site for a way station would be the halfway point from port to the grant land site. Prince Braunfels heard of a place called “las fontanas,” or the “fountains,” located between the Guadalupe and San Antonio rivers, which was also situated approximately halfway from the coast to the Fisher-Miller grant. Braunfels first described the future site of New Braunfels in his sixth report to the Adelsverein dated December 23, 1844. In the report he wrote this about the land:

⁵⁹ Ibid., 37.

An excellent and beautiful place where a Senator Smith⁶⁰ owns a location of four leagues is at the so called “fountains” on the route from San Antonio to Austin, 30 miles from the former. This area offers excellent land. It is a beautiful tract with first rate cedar and oak forests and water power. Its proximity to San Antonio and Seguin assures support and help in case of need. Situated at the foot of the hill country, it will be the headquarters for the colonization project, since it is equidistant from the coast and the upper portion of the Verein’s land.⁶¹

Thus, New Braunfels’ original purpose was to be a waystation settlement for Germans on their way further west. Its site met the same criteria as the Fisher-Miller grant in terms of water, good land for agriculture, and ample building materials; however, this place proved to be a better situation than first realized. Its proximity to other urban centers of Seguin and San Antonio did not leave the colonists stranded in emergencies. San Antonio also offered access to well traveled roadways, such as the Old Spanish highway the Camino Real. This road allowed easy access to markets not only in Texas, but also into Mexico. “Las Fontanas” neatly fit the bill as a stop over for German settlers on their way to the larger grant out west where they eventually would build their communities, the primary goal for the Adelsverein. It was only after the bankruptcy of the Adelsverein, the loss of the Fisher-Miller grant,⁶² and the eventual dissolution of the colonizing group

⁶⁰ At first Prince Braunfels believes that a Senator Smith owns the land, but it is actually owned by the Veramendi and De La Garza families. Braunfels will discover this mistake and correct it in a future report made after the purchase of the land.

⁶¹ Prince Braunfels, “Sixth Report to the Adelsverein Committee, dated 23rd December 1844” *A New Land Beckoned*, Geue trans., 48.

⁶² The Fisher-Miller purchase was a disaster for the German Emigration Company. Neither Fisher or Miller had clear title to the land; therefore, the German nobles could not take full possession of the land. John Mesebach, the German nobleman who took over the position of Commissioner General of the Adelsverein after Prince Braunfels left Texas, testified in District Court of McCulloch County, Texas in November 1893. He stated that “Fisher and Miller had not lands to settle at all, but only the rights in the Colonization Contract which they had with the Republic of Texas.” He further stated that “onerous conditions” were attached to the colonization contract. For example, the contract “only set aside a *territory*, which was in actual possession of hostile Indians,” and the colonists would have to live on the land for “three consecutive years” before it could be legally theirs. For Meusebach, and for the Adelsverein the “the Fisher-Miller grant did not exist.” *Answer to Interrogatories in Case No. 396*, 8-10.

in 1858 that New Braunfels became the primary establishment for German immigrants to Texas.⁶³

San Marcos' origins are quite different. The holders of the land that San Marcos would be founded on were the Juan Veramendi, T.J. Chambers, and Juan Campos families. They received their land grants of various sizes in the early 1830s. Another individual who received a land grant from the Mexican government in 1835 located in and around the area of San Marcos was Thomas McGehee. He was the first Anglo American to establish a farm in Hays County. In 1846 he brought his family from Bastrop, which was part of Austin's second colony to his farm located along the San Marcos River near where it joins the Blanco River. The year 1846 also marked the arrival of the W.W. Moon and Eli T. Merriman, two families that would be instrumental in the development of San Marcos. Both of these individuals built the first homes in what would become San Marcos. In 1847 General Edward Burleson also built a home in the area of the future town after he and William Lindsey bought the Veramendi grant. From this grant the two men set aside 640 acres for the San Marcos townsite.⁶⁴ Burleson partitioned town lots, but very little building activity took place. Ferdinand Roemer traveled through the San Marcos area sometime between 1845 and 1847, most likely

⁶³ Gunter Moltmann, "Introduction to the Reprint of Instruction für deutsche Auswanderer nach Texas, 1851" reprinted by Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin, 1983. Barker Texas History Center, The University of Texas at Austin, 2.

⁶⁴ Isaac H. Julian, "Hays County, Texas: A Truthful Pen Portrait," *San Marcos Free Press* (7 September 1878) Vol. No. 44, 1 Col 4; The Texas Historical Records Survey, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration, "Inventory of the County Archives of Texas, Hays County No. 105," (January 1940), 5-6; Dudley R. Dobie, *A Brief History*, 15-16; Francis Stoval, et al, *Clear Springs and Limestone Edges, A History of San Marcos and Hays County for the Texas Sesquicentennial* (San Marcos: Hays County Historical Commission, 1986), 1-21.

during the late summer and early fall of 1846, and did not mention any town or even a village. Thus, on paper a town existed, but not on land.

Perceptions of the Study Region

By 1845 a region was about to be forever changed with the advent of two more Texas towns. However, it is interesting to take note of the different views about the land by the various groups who thus far had come into contact with it. Human perceptions toward the land are topics of great interest among geographers. Carl Sauer actively searched for and wrote about human alterations of the landscape using the human as an active agent perspective.⁶⁵ Sauer's work was so instrumental in the field of geography that his approach created a whole school of thought as he trained many other geographers. Many geographers followed and still follow this approach in their studies, as well as this study. Other geographers describe views people have towards the land they live on in order to explain why they might alter their landscape the way they do. Clarence Glacken, J.B. Jackson, and Yi-fu Tuan are just a few geographers that bring different methodological approaches in geographical interpretations of landscapes.⁶⁶

Some more recent methodological approaches are the postmodernist or deconstructionist, and feminist view towards human land use and perspective.⁶⁷ This

⁶⁵ Carl O. Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape," *University of California Publications in Geography* 2, 2, (1925), 19-54.

⁶⁶ Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian shore: nature and culture in Western thought from ancient times to the end of the eighteenth century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967; Yi-Fu Tuan, "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective, *Progress in Geography* 6, 233-46, 1974; and John B. Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

⁶⁷For these newer methodologies see David Harvey's "The Geography of Capitalist Accumulation," in *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*, John Agnew David Livingstone and Alisdair Rogers, eds., (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 600-622; and Gillian Rose, "Geography as the Science of Observation: The Landscape, the Gaze and Masculinity," *Nature and Science: Essays in the History of Geographical Knowledge*, Historical Geography Research Series, number 28, 1992, 8-18.

“new cultural geography” offered critiques upon past methodologies that sought to portray accurate landscape descriptions by merely compiling data and creating maps that showed the diffusion of people and cultural items across land. These geographers realize that a search for meaning must acknowledge the biases brought to the study by the researcher and accurate descriptions in areal studies are difficult to achieve.⁶⁸ All these works and new methodological approaches further helped geographers realize that gender, social and economic class, the timeframe of the study, and use of language are also important factors to consider when studying cultural groups and their attitudes toward the environment. Thus, each group that comes to an area brings their own experiences, desires, and understandings with them. These views and beliefs come out in their descriptions of what they find and how they write about the land. This is all certainly true in regards to the current area under study.

What about the views towards the land found in the study area? How did the people who came to this area view the land and what can be learned from them? The first written account describing the study area is the 1709 diary entry by the Espinosa-Oliveres-Aquirre expedition that traveled through the area along the Spanish royal road the El Camino Real looking for a shorter route from interior Mexico to the missions of east Texas.⁶⁹ Their brief entry mentioned no encounter of another human group as they

⁶⁸ See James Duncan and David Ley’s compilation of articles in *Place/Culture/Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1993) for the critiques offered by the “new cultural geographers.” Especially useful is the first article in the work, “Introduction: Representing the Place of Culture,” by James Duncan and David Ley. Their discussion of Postmodernism, Hermeneutics, Re-Presenting Cultural Geography give clear differences between these newer methodological approaches in the field of cultural geography.

⁶⁹ El Camino Real was the main route used by the Spanish when traveling from interior Mexico to get to other areas in and around Texas and was especially used by visitors who wanted to get to the Spanish missions located in eastern Texas.

traveled along the banks of the San Marcos River and only noted the river's beauty and the shade trees.

The next significant entry is by Stephen F. Austin in 1821. Like the Spaniards, he also reported that the area was beautiful. However, his comments went further than the Spanish in that he saw the economic benefits that would come in harnessing water for irrigation and mills. Austin's interest in Texas was colonization and with colonization comes business and industry. In 1832 he compared the colonization process to a farmer practicing agriculture, which demonstrated how different his attitude was when compared to the previously mentioned Spanish entry. In the analogy the first step he listed was to conquer the wilderness, which he compared to a farmer's initial plowing of a field. The second step was to "lay the foundation for lasting productive advancement in wealth, morality, and happiness," like a farmer planting and tending the fields. Finally, proper moral direction and guidance of the settlement for the betterment of humanity he compared to a farmer gathering the harvest, which benefits all that partake in the process.⁷⁰ Unlike Austin, the Spanish never saw or were interested in any economic benefit in the San Marcos-Guadalupe-Comal river region. Their main interest in this area was to Christianize the native groups and to establish better roads within the Spanish empire.

Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels wrote the next report of interest. In his sixth report to the Adelsverein dated December 23, 1844, he commented on the piece of land desired for the German way station. He had yet to see the land in person, but as stated earlier,

others told him about the excellent trees, water source, and how close proximity to other towns would benefit the settlers and their future settlement. Finally in March, 1845 he inspected the newly purchased land. He wrote,

On the 18th I crossed the Guadalupe at the ford of the great military road from Nacogdoches to San Antonio. The river is locked in by rocky cliffs and rushes wildly over rocks and boulders. Right here is the beginning of the land which I brought into the Verein's possession. The Comal Creek runs through it. On the right bank of this Creek there is rich prairie land with open terrain which continues toward a dominant elevation. On the left bank of Comal Creek there is well forested bottom land which extend to the cedar, oak, and elm covered cliffs which here already have considerable height. Beyond this there is a high ridge with summits here and there similar to our Black Forest.⁷¹

He went on to describe the multiple springs of Comal Springs, how clear the water was, and the “considerable depth” of the Comal River. It took two days for he and four companions to find the main spring of the Comal, and then he even spent several more days on horseback further scouting the piece of land. The ride took him on top of the “ridge,” better known as the Balcones Escarpment, and after trying to find its’ end he gave up on the quest after “three or four miles.” He did comment that the view from the top “behind which there is a plateau several miles wide, [was] enchanting.” During his scouting trip he came across evidence of Indian encampments, both large and small. However, there were no words expressing alarm in his entry about these groups. He wrote that as soon as the Indians heard “the sound of the ax in the woods” they withdrew from the area and moved further away from “civilization.” In regards to future Indian problems that might be encountered after colonization he wrote that even if some “should

⁷⁰ Eugene C. Barker, “Stephen F. Austin,” *Texas Vistas*, Ralph A. Wooster and Robert A. Calvert eds., (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1987), 43-56. First published in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 22 (July, 1918), 1-17.

⁷¹ Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels, 6th report, 66.

go astray” and come close to the community, he felt confident that the “clatter of the mills on the river and the noise of the forges would scare them off.” Before New Braunfels even existed Prince Braunfels imagined an abundance of industrial activity in the soon to be built settlement. He believed this because as he put it, “the Comal River is especially adapted for just such installation on account of its ever constant water supply.” He closed his report saying that field plots had been drawn and the plow was already turning sod. He personally “traced the outline of the citadel” on one of the highest points on the purchased land, “below which the city is to be laid out in all directions.” Even though he just wrote that the Indians would not be brave enough to come close to the settlement, he still felt it necessary to build some type of fort for protection “against attack.”⁷²

There are many elements in this report of great interest for a cultural geographer. The goals of the Adelsverein and those of Braunfels are important when considering this first “eyewitness” report. Both the colonizing group and the Commissioner-General wanted to transplant a successful German colony to Texas and make it a profitable venture for all parties involved. Another goal was to establish trade between the settlement, Mexico, and the United States. Once the colonists established the trade links then German merchants could take part in the trade. Thus, economics played a very important role in this process. Braunfels’ entry, which on the surface is almost romantic in its tone of enchanting views, when seen in the light of a nobleman concerned about trade and profits through the establishment of the colony, takes on a very different

⁷² Ibid., 66-67.

perspective. His great detail of the Comal River displays this theme quite well.

Braunfels' mention of a deep river that widens allows the reader to know that this is a navigable river. Gushing springs in abundance speaks to the potential for gristmills, and other industry that require water for power. Just from using the Comal Creek as the central focus of his description and as a bearing, or a central point of reference, signifies the importance of the water source to the future community.

Braunfels's description of the Balcones Escarpment is one of the first detailed accounts of the fault zone. Previously mentioned travel accounts about this specific area do not make note of this rather large and obvious part of the physical landscape. He wrote of the height of the cliffs and even higher summits in the distance that reminded him of the Black Forest back in Germany. This similarity may be the reason why he mentioned the escarpment where others failed to do so. Geographers have noted many times that when people look for new lands they tend to go to places that remind them of the land they leave behind them.⁷³ Here was something that Prince Braunfels could use as a point of reference not only to himself, but also to those who would read this report. He wanted the reader to know that there was something here that could offer something familiar to the person who would leave Germany for this foreign land. Braunfels' interest in the escarpment was also great enough that he planned more journeys to the area to learn more about it.

⁷³ See Robert Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Woodrow R. Clevinger, "Southern Appalachian Highlanders in Western Washington," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 33: 3-25.

Industry and economics must have been prominent in his mind since he devoted so much of his description to the power of the Comal springs, creek and river. To a lesser degree did he address issues that would be of interest to a farmer or rancher. He noted the “rich prairie land with open terrain,” the “well forested bottom land,” and the “staking out of field plots” for the expected immigrants. These were the only three references made to the land in relation to its fertility and use towards agriculture.

Many other people who traveled through the area shared Prince Braunfels’ views. One such person was fellow German and university trained geologist, Dr. Ferdinand von Roemer. He spent time in the region just as New Braunfels began its formation as a town, and right as San Marcos was founded. He said the San Marcos River was the “only important river between the Colorado and the Guadalupe.” He wrote that both start at the base of a mountain range, (the Balcones Escarpment), which crossed Texas in a northwesterly direction. He credited the Comal and San Marcos springs origins to “fissures and crevices of limestone” where water flows over and sinks into these cracks. He noted the water continued down to an “impermeable stone layer, collect[ed] in subterranean channels and [broke] out in large springs where the limestone hills end abruptly.” As Prince Braunfels was one of the first to describe in better detail the Balcones Escarpment, Ferdinand Roemer was one of the first to describe one of the larger aquifers in Texas, the Edwards Aquifer.⁷⁴

Roemer also addressed other favorable reasons for Germans to migrate to New Braunfels. He mentioned a milder climate (and in his opinion the best climate in the

world) did not require all the extra clothing for winter, which meant less money needed to be spent on clothing. Warmer winters did not require heavy construction for homes since houses served more to “protect against the rays of the sun and rain” rather than harsh winters. Smaller homes were another advantage combined with no shelter required for livestock. In reference to cattle ranching, he praised the grasses that could be used in lieu of expensive cattle feed, again saving the farmer and rancher money. Open unforested land kept the emigrant from the hard labor of clearing a field “which is the first requisite in nearly all parts of the Northern States of the Union.” The farmer only need fence off his land then “plow the sod with a heavy plow drawn by two or three yoke of oxen. He can then plant corn and other seeds without further preparation.” Fertilization was not required and with land so cheap one could acquire large tracts with relative ease.⁷⁵

Roemer did highlight the negative elements facing German emigrants, an endeavor often avoided by other travelogue writers. He did warn how the adjustment to the warmer Texas climate could cause problems and about the prevalence of diseases. He noted that the area lacked highways or railroads, and that Texas was a slaveholding state. Nevertheless, he still encouraged German migration to the region.⁷⁶ The one positive thing mentioned that coincided with Prince Solms-Braunfels view, and one that stood out from both the highs and low of his report was the advantage of settling in an area with few people. He wrote,

⁷⁴ Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas with Particular Reference to German Immigration and the Physical Appearance of the Country*, trans. Oswald Mueller, (San Antonio: Standard Printing Company, 1935), 110-111, 175.

⁷⁵ Roemer, *Texas*, 26-29.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 28-31.

Finally, I would like to mention that due to the sparse population, it is easy for immigrants of one nation to live as a unit in a community, thus having the advantage of living among their compatriots, and retaining the customs and habits of their native land.⁷⁷

The statement testifies to the importance of culture for Roemer. The sentiment echoed again after the Prince arrives in Texas and begins the journey inland towards New Braunfels. As he met other Germans who previously established themselves in Texas they wanted to join the larger German group. Braunfels responded to these individuals that they could join the incoming group. They could buy their land at a low price and enjoy all the “same privileges as those who came directly from Germany, in the churches, schools, hospitals, etc. that were to be established by the colony.” He also recorded how pleased he was that these earlier colonists agreed with him in the importance of “retaining the German character and customs through the church and language.” They delighted in the fact they now had closer ties to family, friends, and other events connected to Germany.⁷⁸

As Roemer traveled from Austin to New Braunfels, he crossed the San Marcos River whereupon he commented that his group entered into a “beautiful fertile valley.” Below where the San Marcos and the Blanco River joined was a three mile wide bottom land covered with brush and “luxuriant trees.” He described the San Marcos River almost the same way that Braunfels described the Comal. Phrases such as a “river abounding in water,” water with “magical clearness,” springs that “break forth” from limestone with “such tempestuousness and volume of water that they could turn mills at

⁷⁷ Ibid., 28.

⁷⁸ Chester W. and Ethel H. Geue, *A New Land Beckoned: German Immigration to Texas, 1844-1847*, (Waco: Texian Press, 1966), 23.

their immediate source,” are strikingly similar to Braunfels portrayal of the Comal. He, too, saw economic benefits to be had from this river by setting up industries along it harnessing the water’s power.

As he did earlier when describing the negative points of German migration to New Braunfels, Roemer also saw and wrote about the drawbacks of the San Marcos region. He wrote that,

Unfortunately the broad fertile bottom of the San Marcos will never be suitable for agriculture since it is subject to inundation. While riding through it we noticed with astonishment dry cane and limbs hanging fifteen to twenty feet high above the ground from the trees, which the spring floods had left there.⁷⁹

His is the only mention found prior to the settlement phase of San Marcos that is negative. Where other narrators wrote favorably of agriculture’s potential, this is one of the few that countered the prevailing feelings of that time.

Thus there are the writings of a Spanish expedition in 1709, one by Stephen F. Austin in 1821, Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels in 1844, and finally Dr. Ferdinand Roemer sometime around 1846. All four descriptions accentuated the positive aspects of the region. The last three particularly emphasized the economic benefits that would come once colonists settled the land. These three also focused heavily upon the rivers and their water power in making these things happen. It would only be natural for some of the writers to focus on the economic potential because they came from a background steeped heavily in industry at a time when the industrial revolution was making its impact in the United States and abroad in Germany. They were caught up in their time with their specific focuses.

These writers also came from the upper classes in their societies and were highly respected. In regards to the others, the Spanish explorers were certainly respected and trusted enough by the Spanish crown to be sent out looking for better transportation routes. Stephen F. Austin came from a highly respected and famous family. Family roots went back to Missouri where both Stephen and his father, Moses, held various political positions and moved in the political world. This was the background that allowed first Moses and then his son, Stephen to acquire land grants from the Mexican government to bring the first Anglo settlers to Texas. Education, wealth, and status were necessary in order to accomplish these things. Finally, consider the backgrounds of the two Germans, Prince Braunfels and Ferdinand Roemer. Prince Braunfels and his noble connections bring a unique twist upon the whole experience. Prestige, wealth, respect, education and power come with a noble upbringing and would certainly influence his personal perspectives. While Dr. Roemer was not the wealthy noble, he was certainly a highly educated individual who felt at ease with the upper societal groups. Therefore, all these writings come from an elite perspective and these men project that status onto and into their writings. They set the standard and laid the plans that everyone else encountered when they migrated to the New Braunfels area.

Thus, the only writings that come down to us are those left by highly educated men with various degrees of power and stature. Missing are the voices of the ones who were here before the Europeans arrived, the native people, or the Indians. Missing are the voices of middle and lower class men. Missing are the writings by women describing

⁷⁹ Ibid., 175-176.

this area before European and U.S. Anglo settlement. Only one perspective was given, therefore, a broader perspective will never be known.

Perspectives aside, by the mid 1840s the foundation was set to create New Braunfels and San Marcos. An analysis of the push and pull factors for those coming to the area help to explain why people would leave familiar surroundings and head to the unknown to be a part of this process. A brief look at how the land was acquired for the two towns helps to explain their location. An examination into the written accounts by people of various cultural backgrounds at different times shows the contrasting environmental perceptions that existed. From 1845 through 1850 the San Marcos-Comal-Guadalupe river regions moved into its next phase as it changed from a place of occasional residence by Indians and the Spanish to the beginning of permanent settlements by European Germans and U.S. southern Anglos.

Chapter Three
Homelands Old and New
Population Source Areas for New Braunfels and San Marcos

Regionally New Braunfels, Texas has long been known as a German town. No one disputes this commonly accepted fact. People visit the city today to partake in the German culture still left almost one hundred and sixty years after the city's founding. The local Chamber of Commerce, multiple tourist destinations, and festivals such as Wurstfest are just a few that tap into and heavily market the German heritage of the community luring in millions of visitors every year. The overwhelming numbers of German people, their culture and continuous presence in New Braunfels many decades after its founding in 1845 aided the staying power of the German culture in this central Texas town. They accomplished this in a state and region dominated by southern Anglo-Americans (Anglos) who brought their culture to Texas beginning in the 1830s. It will be shown in this chapter that Germans and German-Texans maintained an impressive demographic dominance in New Braunfels throughout the time frame of this study, the latter half of the nineteenth century, which helped keep alive the German culture exhibited there that made it so different from Anglo Texas towns such as San Marcos.

Population source areas are crucial for cultural and historical geographers when trying to understand their cultural regionalism. They are especially helpful when studying foreign migratory groups such as the Germans who settled in Texas in large numbers. The same holds true for people who migrated within the United States. Where people come from helps explain their cultural behavior. If one ethnic group dominates a town's population for long periods of time and few other groups move in, there may be

little cultural change for the community as the ethnic group's culture takes hold. Instead of assimilating into the larger host culture, the ethnic group becomes insular. Numerical superiority allows these people to adjust to their new setting at a slower pace picking and choosing the cultural elements they wish to adopt from the host culture. It also allows them to maintain the simplified culture they brought with them without having the host culture thrust upon them. This is what took place with the Germans who founded New Braunfels. Their population dominance along the edge of the Balcones Escarpment allowed them to maintain their German identity while slowly adopting to the Anglo ways of their neighbors. If changes were to occur among the demographic make up of the town, that is if an ethnic or culture group began to loose its large percentage base, the group could begin to loose its hold on their ethnic heritage and a town's culture will reflect the change. These are some of the elements that cultural and historical geographers set out to capture, the moment a change takes place as a way to explain cultural modifications or to find patterns of consistency to explain why none occur for long periods of time.

One way to look for patterns is to closely examine the source regions of the people moving to the area and to look for changes there. The best way to do this is through the United States Federal Census manuscript schedules. These schedules list the birthplaces for everyone enumerated. In measuring the German presence for New Braunfels the questions are then, how many people from Germany settled in the town and what proportion of the population did they comprise? How many children, the generation that would carry forward the German traditions, were born to these people? How many

non-Germans settled there and where were these people from? Were their numbers large enough to make a cultural impact upon the town? As stated above, in Texas the southern Anglo culture dominated the state throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, the timeframe of this study. If it is found when studying the source regions for New Braunfels's population that another Anglo group came in from areas outside the south and grew in size, some changes in the town might be explained by their presence. Finally, in order to better put in perspective the traits uncovered for this town, it will be compared to San Marcos, a town representative of the host culture in Texas at that time.

New Braunfels, The Formative Years: Adult Population

The people who moved to and created New Braunfels were almost exclusively from Germany. Thousands of Germans poured into Texas through the aid of the Adelsverein starting in 1845 and they continued to come through the remainder of the decade and the next. Gilbert Benjamin wrote that 8,000 landed in Galveston just in the year 1847. Three years later almost half of the population in the town was German. By 1850 Jordan-Bychkov stated there were 11,534 people with a German surname in Texas, and that 32% of Texas's urban population was German.⁸⁰ Thousands of these immigrants passed through New Braunfels and many stayed to build a new life and home there. They created a unique community the likes of one not seen before in Texas. People who passed through the town and wrote about their experiences took note of the German community and how it stood out when compared to other Texas towns. The uniqueness of their culture so often noted by those travelers came about because of the dominance of

the German population remained constant throughout much of the century. An in-depth look at the manuscript census schedules for New Braunfels confirms this and can be appreciated more when a comparison is made to San Marcos, the other town of this study.

The 1850 census for Comal County clearly list the New Braunfels' inhabitants along with the residents of the two smaller "suburbs" of New Braunfels, Comaltown and Hortontown.⁸¹ The separation was certainly done by census takers because, as previously shown, New Braunfels and the other two communities were clearly distinguishable on land and on maps at that time. The people living there also viewed the places as separate towns. However, these three communities acted and functioned as one town so all three enumerations will be shown. No separate commercial districts or governing bodies developed in these two areas so they functioned much in the same manner as modern day suburbs connected to larger cities all across the United States.

The total number of free adults living in New Braunfels was 741, Comaltown had 167, and Hortontown listed 95 (Table 3.1). Combined there were 1,003 people aged fifteen and over⁸² who lived in New Braunfels and the immediate surrounding area. Of those, 914 people reported Germanic origins representing 91.1% of the adult population. Additionally, other foreigners lived in the area. A handful of people from Scotland, Ireland, and Mexico did appear on the 1850 census.

⁸⁰ Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas: A Study in Immigration*, (1910; reprint, Austin: Jenkins Publishing Co., 1974) 57-63; Terry Jordan, "Population Origins" *Geographical Review* 59, No. 1 (1969), 85..

⁸¹ The term "suburb" is used here not in the sense of its modern meaning.

Table 3.1
Population Summary by Ethnicity⁸³
Free Population, Head of Households and Adults
New Braunfels, Comaltown, Hortontown, 1850

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all free adults living in entire New Braunfels area, 1850 (%)
German	914	91.1
Other European	6	.6
Mexican	1	.1
Anglo	82	8.2
TOTAL ADULTS	----- 1,003	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 910, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population schedules for Comal County, 1850.

German emigrants overwhelmingly made up the majority of New Braunfels area residents. The remainder of the population came from the United States, with southerners being the majority of that group. The 1850 census listed 82 adults from the United States living in New Braunfels and the two suburbs.

The American-born residents came from various source regions within the country and understanding how these groups differ culturally is important. Their various backgrounds help create the cultural mosaic of the non-German element in New Braunfels. Southerners were the majority of U.S. born residents living in New Braunfels, Comaltown and Hortontown. However, when considering the South as noted by the cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky, who designated and named the various culture

⁸² To determine the age at which one was an adult, this study used the occupation age as a guideline. The 1850 census considered it notable to list an occupation for anyone fifteen an older, therefore that was the age used to determine adult status.

regions in the United States, this traditional culture region can be further subdivided into two areas based upon the degree to which slave labor was used and the type of agriculture practiced by the people living there. The traditional culture area called the Lower South mostly comprises the southern seaboard states from southern Maryland through east Texas.⁸⁴ The states designated as the Lower South for this study are Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida. Slavery existed in all southern states, but in the Lower South, (from this point also referred to as the Coastal South) agriculturalists used slavery to a much larger extent than those living in the other southern region, the Upland South. Plantation owners practiced subtropical monocrop agriculture in these lower southern states, while the upper states, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas were home to more yeoman farmers and those who used fewer slaves. It needs to be noted that both plantation owners and yeoman farmers practiced their particular forms of agriculture in both areas, it was just one group dominated more in one area than the other. Since slavery dominated in the Coastal Lower South, agriculture was more commercial and relied on crops such as cotton, sugar, and rice. Crops in the upper southern states still consisted of some of these mass produced crops, but yeoman farmers produced crops more for subsistence agriculture such as corn and wheat, as well as raising cattle and pigs.⁸⁵

⁸³ For a complete breakdown of 1850 census numbers and source regions, see Appendix A.

⁸⁴ For this study the coastal states from Maryland through Louisiana will comprise the Lower South. To distinguish it from Zelinsky's traditional culture region, the name Coastal South will be used. Texas will be treated as a separate category as well.

⁸⁵ Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall): 118-119, 122-125; Terry Jordan, "Population Origins in Texas, 1850," *The Geographical Review* 59 (1969), 86-88; Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1949), 23-89. Owsley's book is an important work that documents the life of the southern yeoman farmer, and also dispels many myths about southern agriculture, the plantation class and the yeoman farmer. His work also contains

Industry and manufacturing never gained a stronghold in this region prior to the Civil War. The Midland states, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Delaware were a mixture of agriculture, manufacturing and industry, which carried over to the Middle West states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and Ohio. The colder climates and less fertile soils of the New England culture region of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut helped manufacturing and industry become dominant there.⁸⁶

Table 3.2 breaks down, according to these culture regions, the birthplaces of the people living in New Braunfels, Comaltown and Hortontown and who were born in the United States.

many valuable maps and charts showing land use patterns and demographic charts comparing slave owners land and agriculture holding to non slaver owners.

⁸⁶ Zelinsky, *Cultural Geography of the United States*, 117-134.

Table 3.2
Free Population Summary, U.S. Born Adults and Head of Households
New Braunfels, Comaltown, Hortontown, 1850⁸⁷

U.S. Culture Region ⁸⁸	Number	As a percentage Of free adults Born in the U.S. (%)	As a percentage of all free adults living in N.B. area (%)
Coastal/Lower South	29	35.4	2.9
Upper South	18	21.9	1.8
Midland	8	9.8	.8
New England	12	14.6	1.2
Middle West	11	13.4	1.1
Texas	4	4.9	0.4
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL ADULTS	82	100.0	8.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 910, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules for Comal County, 1850.

The above table demonstrates the wide variety of source regions for the U.S.-born population in the New Braunfels area. As well, there is diversity within the U.S. residents that settled there; no one region holds an overwhelming majority. If the coastal southern states are added with the upper southern states, these two combined hold a slight majority among U.S.-born residents living in New Braunfels, Comaltown and Hortontown. When Texas born residents are added, and they certainly need to be included with the south as a culture group, this source region increases in dominance. The southern states contributing the most migrants to the area were North Carolina with nine, Virginia with eight, South Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas all having seven.

⁸⁷ For a complete breakdown of the U.S. born population, their states, place of residence, etc. see Appendix A.

Overall, 62.2% of U.S.-born residents living in the New Braunfels area came from the southern United States.

While 51 residents came from southern states, 31 or 38% came from other traditional culture regions, which is still a significant portion of the U.S.-born population. Combined, the Midland and Middle West region had 19 representatives with most emigrants, six, from Indiana. There were four adults each from New York and Illinois. Surprisingly, ten people from the New England region made the New Braunfels area home. Emigrants from Connecticut, Maine, and New Hampshire settled in the area with the most, eight, coming from Connecticut. Thus, source areas usually not associated with migrating groups to Texas contributed to the founding of New Braunfels. The significance of this will be seen when compared to the non-German town, San Marcos.

San Marcos, The Formative Years – Adult Population

The source areas for San Marcos' population came primarily from the southern United States. The first inhabitants of what would become San Marcos were W.W. Moon, a farmer and blacksmith from Alabama; Dr. Eli Merriman, a doctor from Connecticut; and Mike Sessom, a blacksmith from Tennessee. Together the three men served in Captain Jack Hays's Company of Rangers, and were stationed along the San Marcos River at the end of the 1840s.⁸⁹ Each of these men built their homes inside the San Marcos town boundaries. These three were the first settlers from the United States;

⁸⁸ The culture regions for this study are based upon those defined by Wilbur Zelinsky in *The Cultural Geography of the United States, A Revised Edition* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1992), 117-134.

⁸⁹ Dudley R. Dobie, *A Brief History of Hays County and San Marcos, Texas*, (San Marcos: *San Marcos Record*, 1948), 16; and United States Bureau of the Census, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), 1850, Hays County, Roll 911, Microfilm.

they were not the ones responsible for the town's growth. Another man, John D. Pitts, is credited with being the impetus for bringing settlers to San Marcos. Pitts bought several hundred acres of land from General Edward Burleson, a large landowner living in the area. After the purchase he traveled to Georgia in March of 1847, where he told relatives and friends about the advantages of moving to the San Marcos region. He urged them to come to this area where land was plentiful and the soil was fertile. Multiple families took his advice and moved to the area. In the 1850 census 26 adults, almost 23 percent of the entire free adult population counted for Hays County, hailed from Georgia.⁹⁰ Thus, on a small scale it can be said that chain migration was a factor in the initial settlement of the San Marcos region. The only other state of birth that tallied higher numbers was individuals who claimed Tennessee.

The other person who may have influenced the large Tennessee migration to the area was Thomas G. McGehee, a Tennessee farmer and the first American to set up a farm in Hays County. He located it along the San Antonio-Nacogdoches road just south of what would become downtown San Marcos. McGehee received the land from the Mexican government on February 19, 1835, but did not move his family, who had been living in Bastrop, onto the farm until November 1846. A man with an abundance of land, he communicated with other friends and family members in Tennessee, which may have prompted settlers from his home state to move to the San Marcos region. The 1850 census revealed that 28 adults, a little more than 24 percent of the free adult population

⁹⁰ U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 911, Microfilm

counted in the census in Hays County listed Tennessee births. Table 3.3 breaks down the U.S. source areas for the San Marcos area.⁹¹

Table 3.3
Population Summary
U.S. Born Free Adults and Head of Households, in and about San Marcos, 1850⁹²

U.S. Culture Region	Number	As a percentage Of free adults Born in the U.S. (%)	As a percentage of all free adults living in S.M. area (%)
Coastal/Lower South	59	51.8	49.2
Upper South	41	36.0	34.2
Midland	8	7.0	6.6
New England	3	2.6	2.5
Texas	3	2.6	2.5
TOTAL ADULTS	114	100.0	95.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 911, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules for Hays County, 1850.

In terms of source regions for the above table, 41 adults came from the Upper South representing 36% of the U.S. population. Fifty-nine, or a little over 51% came from the Coastal South, those states bordering the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico from Maryland to Louisiana. This largest cultural group from the Lower, Coastal South, counted some 15% more in population than the Upper South. When the two southern

⁹¹ Table 3 includes all people listed in the 1850 census for Hays County. The census taker noted that this was the population in and around San Marcos and it is the only list found for Hays County in 1850. It is difficult to extract out of this count the people who would have lived in the town since it had not yet incorporated. San Marcos existed of a handful of businesses around a town square with residences dotted in and around the area and nestled along the San Marcos River. It is not until 1851 that movement away from San Marcos begins as residents and other newcomers buy land away from the town and move there to set up the various family farms that would come to dominate Hays County. The 1860 Census does a better job at separating out the urban population from the rural.

regions are combined, southerners as a whole made up 83.4% of the entire adult population. Other regions included eight residents from the Midland region, or seven percent of the U.S. total listed in the 1850 census, and three from New England, representing another 2.6% of the list. There were only three adult Texans representing 2.6% of the census total. Hays County had few foreign born residents. Only six adults, or five percent claimed a foreign birth with five from Germany and one from Poland. Like so many other Texas towns, southerners dominated San Marcos. When New Braunfels's population, especially the U.S.-born population is compared to San Marcos, as in Table 3.4 below, the diversity and differences between their two populations can be seen.

Table 3.4
Population Summary
U.S. Born Free Adults and Heads of Households,
New Braunfels area and San Marcos area, 1850

U.S. Culture Region	As a percentage of all U.S. born free adults living in the New Braunfels area (%)	As a percentage of all U.S. born free adults living in the San Marcos area (%)
Coastal/Lower South	35.4	51.8
Upper South	21.9	36.0
Midland	9.8	7.0
New England	14.6	2.6
Middle West	13.4	0.0
Texas	4.9	2.6

⁹² For a complete breakdown of the San Marcos population and source regions, see Appendix A.

The two towns differed in their foreign population. Well over 90% of the population in New Braunfels was German while only five percent was German in San Marcos.

Children and Minors of New Braunfels

All the above charts represent only the adult populations of both towns. Below is a brief look at the children and minors of the two towns with a couple of cultural notables to point out. First, the children and other minors who lived in New Braunfels and the two suburbs, like the adult population, were overwhelmingly German. (See Table 3.5 below) The one big change from the adult population was the listing of the children born after the parent's arrival to New Braunfels as Texans. Here is the beginning of the first generation of German Texans.

Table 3.5
Population by Ethnicity, Summary
Free Population, Children and Minors, New Braunfels, Comaltown, Hortontown, 1850

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all free minors and children living in entire New Braunfels area (%)
German	347	52.7
German American ⁹³	246	37.4
At Sea (German)	1	.2
	-----	-----
TOTALS	594	90.3
Mexican	1	.2
Anglo American	63	9.5

TOTAL MINORS	658	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 910, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population schedules for Comal County, 1850.

The 63, or 9.5% of the Anglo children can be further broken down into their respective U.S. traditional culture areas as done on the next page. (See Table 3.6)

⁹³ The people counted here are of two German born parents. This number represents the first Texans born of German descent.

Table 3.6
Population Summary
U.S. Born Free Children and Minors, New Braunfels, Comaltown, Hortontown, 1850⁹⁴

U.S. Culture Region	Number	As a percentage Of free minors Born in the U.S. (%)	As a percentage of all free minors living in N.B. area (%)
Coastal/Lower South	7	11.1	1.1
Upper South	7	11.1	1.1
Middle West	7	11.1	1.1
Texas	42	66.7	6.4
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL ADULTS	63	100.0	9.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 910, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules for Comal County, 1850.

When Table 3.6, the population summary for Anglo children living in the New Braunfels area, is compared to Table 3.2, the population summary for Anglo adults of the same location, three regions show up as source areas while two do not even appear. While there were some adults born in the New England and Midland regions, there were no children born there. This chart reflects what was happening in other areas experiencing in-migration from other parts of the U.S. As people living in the longer established Atlantic seaboard pushed west it showed up when census takers listed the children's birthplaces. More on this will be said below in relation to the children and minor population for San Marcos.

⁹⁴ For a complete breakdown of the New Braunfels population and source regions see Appendix A.

Children and Minors in San Marcos

Table 3.7 breaks down the birthplaces for San Marcos's children and minors.

Table 3.7
Population Summary
U.S. Born Free Children and Minors, in and about San Marcos, 1850⁹⁵

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of free minors Born in the U.S. (%)	As a percentage of all free minors living in S.M. area (%)
Anglo American			
Coastal/Lower South	26	18.7	17.9
Upper South	28	20.1	19.3
New England	6	4.3	4.1
Middle West	4	2.9	2.8
Texas	75	54.0	51.7
German Ethnicity			
Germany	2	---	1.4
Texas ⁹⁶	4	---	2.7
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL MINORS	145	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 911, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules for Hays County, 1850.

Similar to New Braunfels's population of U.S. Anglo children, fewer listed births in the longer inhabited, more established areas of the Upper and Coastal South. These numbers again indicate and support the well-documented transitory nature of U.S. southern migrants.⁹⁷ Soil exhaustion in southern states such as Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia and the Carolinas, where plantation agriculture had long been practiced, forced southerners to look for the more fertile soils farther west by the early nineteenth century. Likewise, as more land opened up for Anglo emigrants in areas such as Arkansas,

⁹⁵ For a complete breakdown of the San Marcos population and source regions, see Appendix A.

⁹⁶ Children born of German parents.

Missouri, Louisiana, and Texas, the fertile soils and agricultural opportunities were too much to resist. Southerners born in Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Kentucky, the Carolinas in the early part of the nineteenth century began pushing out west. As they moved west and as families were formed, children of parents born in the aforementioned states were born in states located further west. In many cases families did not stay long in any one area as shown in census records. It is common to see in one family many birth states represented. For example, parents listed in the 1850 census born in Virginia could have their first child born in Virginia, the next two or three born in Georgia or Alabama, the next two or three in Arkansas, and the last child or two born in Texas. Both the New Braunfels and San Marcos federal U.S. manuscript schedules have multiple families where this pattern was exhibited. Thus, one can trace a family's migratory pattern just by looking at the birthplaces of children.

The Slave Population in New Braunfels and San Marcos

As southerners migrated to New Braunfels and San Marcos they would have brought their slaves with them. Table 3.8 lists the number of slaves and their percentage of the overall populations for both towns. This chart displays another cultural difference between New Braunfels and San Marcos. The Germans living in New Braunfels had not adopted slavery into their economic system on any large scale. There are multiple reasons for their not owning slaves. One was they could not afford them, or they used their money to buy land instead of slaves. Also the Germans used their older German children and minors as domestic servants. The smaller southern population in New

⁹⁷ See especially Joan Cashin's work in *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier*,

Braunfels owned the bulk of the slaves and since their numbers were small, the number of slaves in Comal County would be small as well. In 1860 there was only one slaveholder with a Germanic background in town. Joseph Landa owned five slaves until he freed them January 1, 1863 after the Emancipation Proclamation became law.⁹⁸ There were only five other slaveholders who lived in town. These men came from Maine, Virginia, Scotland and England. The other 16 slave owners lived outside the town and all but one, a slave owner from Scotland, came from southern U.S. states.⁹⁹ In contrast, the larger southern population in San Marcos explains the larger percentage of slaves. On the eve of civil war there were 90 slaveholders who owned almost 800 slaves in and around San Marcos and all of these came from southern U.S. states.

Table 3.8
Slave Population in and about New Braunfels and San Marcos

Location	Census Year	Number of Slaves	As a percentage of the area's population (%)
New Braunfels	1850	61	3.6
	1860	179	4.6
San Marcos	1850	128	33.0
	1860	797	38.5

Source: 1850 and 1860 Slave Schedules of the United States Census, Comal and Hays County, Microfilm.

German Dominance: New Braunfels, 1860

Throughout the 1850s thousands of German emigrants still streamed into Texas and made their way to the Texas Hill Country. Fifteen years after New Braunfels's

(Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1991).

⁹⁸ Harry Landa, *As I Remember*, (San Antonio: Carleton Printing Co., 1945): 19-27.

⁹⁹ United States Bureau of the Census, 1860 Slave Schedules, Comal County, Microfilm.

founding, Germans retained their strong demographic presence in the town. Table 3.9 shows the ongoing dominance of this group in the 1860 census.

Table 3.9
Population Summary by Ethnicity¹⁰⁰
Free Population, Heads of Households and Adults, New Braunfels, 1860

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all free adults living in New Braunfels, 1860 (%)
German	839	95.3
Other European	4	.5
Anglo	37	4.2
TOTAL ADULTS		880

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population schedules for Comal County, 1860.

One thing to note is that census taker, Mr. Judd, listed Comaltown residents as part of New Braunfels, while Hortontown and other developing areas were listed outside New Braunfels. However, he did note for the New Braunfels's residents their specific states of birth within Germany. It is possible with this census to get a more detailed view of the various German source regions that supplied Texas with her largest European ethnic group. These regions support what cultural geographer Terry Jordan-Bychkov mapped in his many writings on German Texans. (See Figure 3.1)¹⁰¹ Most New Braunfels

¹⁰⁰ For a complete breakdown of 1860 census numbers and source regions see Appendix A.

¹⁰¹ Used with permission, Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil*, 32.

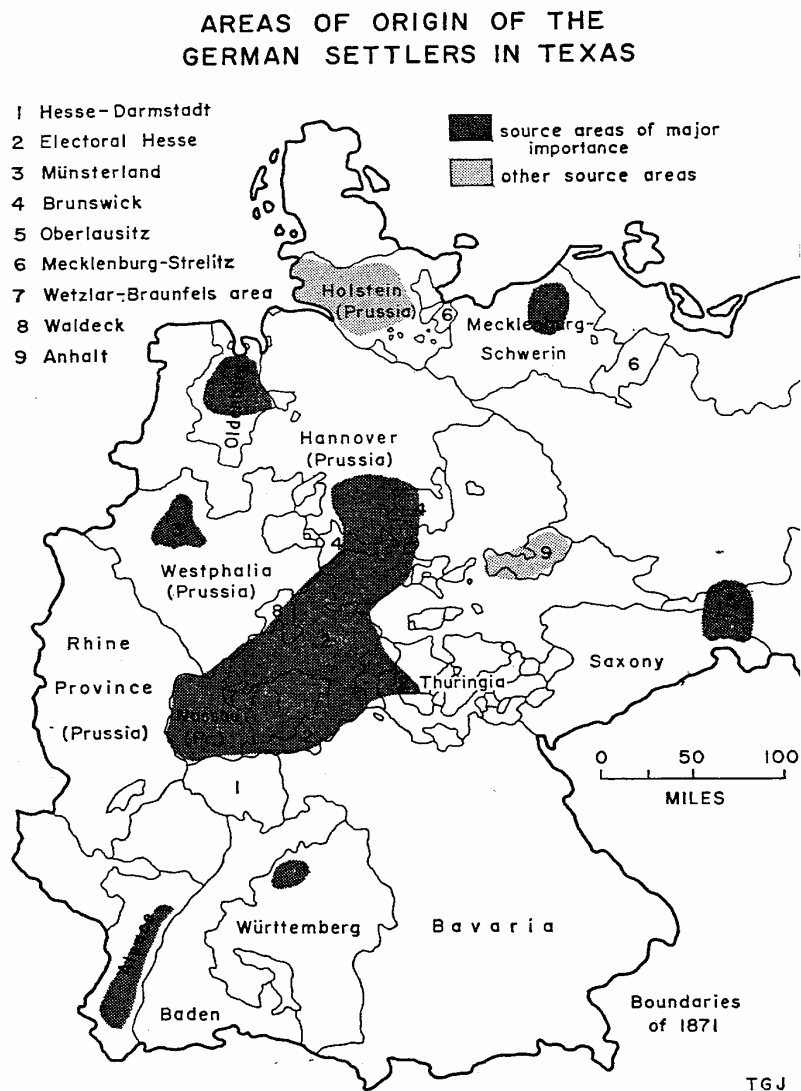


Figure 3.1

residents, almost 80%, came from Prussia, Nassau and Brunswick.¹⁰² While there were Germans from many regions who settled in New Braunfels, the majority came from the north and northwestern German states. The regions from the south and southeast listing multiple birthplaces were Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and further to the east, Saxony.

However, only eight percent of New Braunfels's German population came from those areas. Countries outside the German states sent emigrants as well. People came from France, Austria, Holland and Denmark, but these colonists often had German surnames. The only other Europeans not tied to German culture in New Braunfels were English, Irish and Scottish.

The German population grew in New Braunfels at the expense of Anglo Americans, whose numbers decreased during the 1850s within the town limits. As shown below, only 37 made their home in town and of that number most came from the New England area.

¹⁰² Appendix A provides a complete breakdown of population origins for New Braunfels.

Table 3.10
Population Summary
U.S. Born Adults and Head of Households, New Braunfels, 1860¹⁰³

U.S. Culture Region	Number	As a percentage Of free adults Born in the U.S. (%)	As a percentage of all free adults living in N.B. area (%)
Coastal/Lower South	10	25.6	1.1
Upper South	4	10.3	.5
Midland	3	7.7	.3
New England	18	46.2	2.0
Middle West	2	5.1	.2
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL ADULTS	37	100.0	4.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 910, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules for Comal County, 1860.

It was outside New Braunfels, where land holdings were much larger and agriculture more prominent, that over 90% of those born in the U.S. who moved to Comal County came from southern states.¹⁰⁴ This fits the pattern found by Jordan-Bychkov that throughout rural Texas in the 1850s southern Anglos maintained the majority.¹⁰⁵ Southerners accustomed to plantation agriculture found it easier to live outside of town rather than in town where manufacturing and industry were taking root.¹⁰⁶

Thus on the eve of civil war, New Braunfels demographically showed few similarities to other Anglo Texas towns. An almost one hundred percent foreign born,

¹⁰³ For a complete breakdown of the U.S. born population, their states, place of residence, etc. see Appendix A.

¹⁰⁴ There were fifty-three Anglo Americans listed in Comal County living outside New Braunfels. Fifty of these were born in southern states, one from the Midland region, and two from Texas. U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States (Texas).

¹⁰⁵ Jordan, "Population Origins," 102.

¹⁰⁶ For more on this topic see Chapter Five.

German, adult population controlled the town and 190 foreign born and 632 first generation Texas German children stood ready to take over when they reached adulthood.

Shaping a Community: San Marcos, 1860

Most Texas towns struggled to grow during the antebellum years. As demonstrated by urban geographer Christopher S. Davies, while some urban growth occurred throughout the state, Texas's population remained rural well into the 20th century. It is no surprise then, that although San Marcos experienced some growth during the 1850s, the town essentially remained a small county seat community. People who moved to Hays County believed prosperity was found in rural settings, not urban ones. Outside the few merchants, hotel owners, and other small businessmen catering to and serving a rural economy, there was little need for people to congregate in a tight packed urban setting. San Marcos continued to find its way during the 1850s. Town leaders mapped out a town square, streets and town lots, but what impact would this have on the population? Would there be a push for growth or contentment with the status quo?

The community of San Marcos did grow during this time. As people came to the area most decided to build near the town, but not in town itself. So, San Marcos grew but more in a dispersed pattern rather than in a tightly centralized urban setting. Since people were scattered, the town never incorporated. The lack of a distinct city limits only adds to the problem of trying to determine exactly how many people lived in San Marcos during this time. It would have been difficult for the census taker to determine whether or not those living on the outer fringes of town should be listed as residents of San Marcos.

Another development during this decade was the formation of many small cluster communities in and around San Marcos. As people continued to write to relatives in other states about the fertile lands, family and friends moved west to join them. As these relatives and friends came to San Marcos instead of staying in town, these groups left the community following their desire to buy large acreages of land in order to set up family farms. They would stay for a few months or longer in San Marcos as they waited for a land deal and when one came through, they were gone. As a result the town had a transient population that was in a constant state of flux. Beyond town small cluster communities, where many of the people living there were related to one another, sprang up throughout Hays County.¹⁰⁷ These smaller communities pulled people away from San Marcos, which kept the town's population small. One example where this occurred was the development of Stringtown, a small community just outside of San Marcos.

Though some left San Marcos, many came and stayed. The adult population for San Marcos in 1860 was 328 with 303 listing a U.S. birth. One thing that remained constant throughout this time was the continued influx of southerners into San Marcos.

¹⁰⁷ An example of a cluster community is Stringtown. John D. Pitts founded the place in 1851 and family members and friends joined him in the "Pitts Caravan" as they traveled from Georgia to San Marcos. Zora M. Talbot, *Stringtown*, (Corpus Christi, Texas: University of Corpus Christi Press, 1961), 3-12.

Table 3.11
Population Summary
Free Adults and Head of Households, in and about San Marcos, 1860¹⁰⁸

U.S. Culture Region	Number	As a percentage Of free adults Born in the U.S. (%)	As a percentage of all free adults living in S.M. area (%)
U.S. Born			
Coastal/Lower South	134	44.2	40.9
Upper South	126	41.6	38.4
Midland	3	1.0	.9
New England	4	1.3	1.2
Middle West	15	5.0	4.6
Texas	21	6.9	6.4
	-----	-----	-----
Total	303	100.0	92.4
Foreign Born			
Europe	24		7.3
Mexico	1		.3
	-----		-----
Total	25		7.6

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 8th Census of the United State (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules for Hays County, 1860.

Migrants from the coastal states of Alabama and Georgia led the way for the coastal region, while Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas likewise led the way for the upper South. Adults born in these two regions along with those born in Texas made up 92% of San Marcos's population. There was a small foreign population and it is no surprise that the German population made up the largest number for this group. Unlike New Braunfels, there was a greater variety among the foreign born. Besides the 12 German adults, there were four from Poland, two from France, two from Scotland, and one each

¹⁰⁸ For a complete breakdown of the San Marcos population and source regions, see Appendix A.

from Denmark, Norway, England, Ireland and Mexico.¹⁰⁹ Still, southern roots and southern culture ran deep in this Texas town.

The population count for the children and minors calling San Marcos home reflects the same trends as the adult population. These numbers also continue to support the migratory pattern discussed earlier as southerners moved from the Atlantic seaboard states to ones further west and had children along the way. As a result, states such as Missouri, and Louisiana show higher numbers in the children's population count than in the adults and vice versa with the number of adults born in Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky being greater than the children registering births there. The Midland states show an increase just as the adults did; however, those born in southern states still overwhelming make up the majority. (See Table 3.12) Only five registered births outside the United States representing 1.5% of the entire minor and children's population.

¹⁰⁹ U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States (Texas).

Table 3.12
Population Summary
All Free Children and Minors, in and about San Marcos, 1860¹¹⁰

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of free minors Born in the U.S. (%)	As a percentage of all free minors living in S.M. area (%)
Anglo American			
Coastal/Lower South	37	11.2	11.1
Upper South	51	15.6	15.3
Midland	1	.3	.3
Middle West	10	3.0	3.0
Texas	213	64.9	64.0
German Ethnicity			
Texas	12	3.7	3.6
Polish Ethnicity			
Texas	4	1.2	1.2
Foreign Born			
Poland	3	---	.9
Germany	2	---	.6
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL MINORS	328	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 911, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules for Hays County, 1860.

Towns on the Eve of War

As the numbers for 1860 are tallied there are a few generalizations that can be made about New Braunfels and San Marcos. The latter was a town typical of many small rural towns scattered about the more populated regions of Texas, the area east of the 100th meridian. San Marcos had a small population drawn upon the various southern states that practiced an agrarian economy, which relied heavily upon slave labor for its prosperity.

¹¹⁰ For a complete breakdown of the San Marcos population and source regions see Appendix A.

The other was atypical. Almost all its population was from a foreign country and relied just as much on their manufacturing¹¹¹ as their agriculture. It was a community that caught the attention of most everyone who came through and wrote about their experience. However, how would these two communities hold up while a nation went to war with itself? How much of an impact would this have on the towns' demographic makeup?

Post Bellum New Braunfels

New Braunfels celebrated 25 years as a community in 1870. Four days in May were set aside for celebrations and parades to commemorate the achievements made by the German settlers. The *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* reported how mountain laurel, cedar garlands and wreaths decorated the streets and building fronts. A large “triumphal arch” painted with scenes depicting the town’s accomplishments spanned San Antonio street at the entry point to the plaza.¹¹² The new decade held promise after the one before saw German migration come to a virtual standstill as a result of the war. By the end of the decade immigration numbers went back up. For example, in the port city of New Orleans, where many Germans now arrived before traveling on to Texas, only sixteen people passed through the port just prior to 1861. By the end of the decade migration picked up as 893 people came to New Orleans before making their way to Texas. The number of Germans coming to Texas returned full force in the 1870s with 9,388 passing through New Orleans in that decade alone.¹¹³ The large influx of German settlers to Texas helped keep New Braunfels’s German culture strong. Table 3.13 indicates, their

¹¹¹ This topic is the subject of Chapter Five.

dominance continued unchanged from the town's founding in 1845 through the 1870s and on into the 1880s.¹¹⁴

Table 3.13
Population Origins Summary
Head of Households and Adults, New Braunfels

	Number In 1870 ¹¹⁵	As a % of All adults (%)	Number In 1880	As a % of All Adults (%)
German	849	80.7	605	69.4
German American	101	9.6	188	21.6
Other European	11	1.1	2	.2
Mexican	1	.9	0	0.0
U.S. Anglo	39	3.7	27	3.1
African American	42	4.0	49	5.6
Mexican American	0	0.0	1	.1
TOTAL ADULTS	----- 1,043		----- 871	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 9th and 10th Census of the United States (Texas).

This German dominance was in sharp contrast to the small Anglo American population in the community. Even after twenty-five years and with New Braunfels's growing reputation for being an industrious and prosperous community, very few non-Germans made their way into the settlement. As shown above, this trend did not change even into

¹¹² *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, 27 May 1870 as recorded in Haas, *History of New Braunfels*, 200-201.

¹¹³ Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas*, 61.

¹¹⁴ For a complete breakdown of the 1870 and 1880 U.S. census numbers see Appendix A.

¹¹⁵ The 1870 U.S. Census for southern states seriously undercounted the people living there.

Reconstruction governments met resistance from local people, which resulted in some counties having inaccurate enumerations. In Comal County the undercounting does not seem that severe. After a check with tax records and other eyewitness accounts, the 1870 U.S. census numbers correlate very close with these other reports.

the next decade. The African American community, enumerated for the first time in a census with the rest of the population and not counted separate as before, remained small in New Braunfels. As previously noted slavery never took a firm hold in New Braunfels and upon emancipation their percentages in relation to the rest of the town population did not shift a great deal. In 1870 the African American community made up only four percent of the adult population and a little over three percent of the entire community. This compares favorably to 1860 number when slaves made up 4.6% of the county's entire population. In the next decade the black population continued to grow and by 1880 their numbers increased to a little over five percent of the entire population. The Mexican and Mexican American community was the smallest group of all throughout this time.¹¹⁶

One thing that changed by the 1870s was the transference of the first generation of German Texans from childhood into adulthood. The children born to the first settlers starting in 1845 were now grown and beginning families of their own and continuing the German ways of the community. This change is clearly noted in the next two census records. Where the 1860 census listed no adult German Texans, the 1870 census revealed 101 German Texans of adult age and as shown in the table below, a very large number of young people who claimed a German heritage.

¹¹⁶ U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 9th and 10th Census of the United States, Comal County.

Table 3.14
Population Origins Summary
Children and Minors, New Braunfels

	Number In 1870	As a % of All minors (%)	Number In 1880	As a % of All minors (%)
German	93	7.7	47	4.5
German American ¹¹⁷	1,043	86.5	921	87.8
Anglo	38	3.1	20	1.9
African American	29	2.4	61	5.8
Mexican American	3	.3	0	0.0
	-----		-----	
TOTAL MINORS	1,206		1,049	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 9th and 10th Census of the United States (Texas).

Another trend to note was the decrease of children born in Germany or in other Germanic countries. In 1860 there were 190 minors listing births in Germany and as seen above the number steadily decreased over the next twenty years. This corresponds to the decrease in the adult population migrating from Germany to Texas. New Braunfels in the years following the war continued to be a German town, but the transition from being a town dominated by German Europeans to one of German Texans was underway.

Post Bellum San Marcos

San Marcos did not plan large celebrations for their 25th anniversary. A severe drought of the late 1850s, civil war and Reconstruction kept San Marcos from experiencing any significant growth from the mid-1860s and on into the early 1870s.

¹¹⁷ This census count includes children of German American parentage as well as those born to German born parents. By the 1880 census the beginning of the third generation German Americans existed in New Braunfels.

The push for growth finally began in 1873 when Isaac H. Julian moved to San Marcos with his family from Richmond, Indiana and became owner and editor of the local paper, the West Texas Free Press, later known as the San Marcos Free Press. He used his position as newspaper editor to write glowing reports about San Marcos that were not only published in his paper, but sent to others, including some in Indiana. In these articles he encouraged people to move to San Marcos.¹¹⁸ These reports, along with those printed in other parts of the country, prompted people to move to the town. It also helped that on July 1, 1877 San Marcos finally incorporated, allowing for a town government to oversee growth issues.¹¹⁹ As a result, San Marcos finally began to recover from the war and experience true urban growth.

This growth also corresponds to what Davies found when studying urban evolution of Texas towns. His research showed that after Texas became a state, there was growth through the 1850s, then a sharp decline during the war years followed by the largest urban growth period ever experienced for Texas up to that time. The growth began in the 1870s and continued through the 1880s before going into a slow decline for the next fifty years.¹²⁰ The 1880 census report parallels Davies's findings. As other towns across Texas grew in size and importance, San Marcos did as well. Improved transportation, better communication and certainly the impact of Julian's efforts, along with others to promote the town spurred migration. The results of these activities can be seen in Table 3.15.

¹¹⁸ Isaac H. Julian, "Fourth Volume! West Texas Free Press, Isaac H. Julian, Editor and Proprietor," *West Texas Free Press*, (20 March 1875), 1.

¹¹⁹ Public announcement on voting results for incorporation, *West Texas Free Press*, (7 July 1877).

¹²⁰ Christopher S. Davies, "Urban and Industrial Evolution of Texas," 478-479.

Table 3.15
Population Origins Summary
Heads of Households and Adults, San Marcos

	Number In 1870 ¹²¹	As a % of All adults (%)	Number In 1880	As a % of All Adults (%)
German	12	3.4	24	4.1
German American	0	0.0	10	1.7
Other European	2	.6	18	3.1
Mexican	4	1.2	6	1.0
Canadian	0	0.0	4	.7
Anglo	223	64.3	399	68.3
African American	106	30.5	123	21.1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 9th and 10th Census of the United States (Texas).

Culturally, southern Anglos still dominated San Marcos's demographics. The group hovered between 56 and 57 % of the town's population during this time.¹²² People from the coastal and upper southern states continued to migrate to San Marcos, but the Middle West states were well represented with 3.7 % of the population in 1880, up from 1.8% in 1870. A large African American community would be expected considering their large percentage as slaves in Hays County prior to the war. It seems that many remained and called San Marcos home, and like before, still made up a large percentage of the town's adult population.

¹²¹ There was an undercount in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census as Reconstruction governments and census takers met resistance with local populations. Likewise, since San Marcos had not incorporated as a city, it is difficult to check local documents against these census numbers. It does seem that the census count is accurate for the San Marcos community and most discrepancies are in the smaller cluster communities outside this area.

¹²² See Appendix A for a complete breakdown of demographic and ethnic categories for the 1870 and 1880 U.S. federal census of San Marcos.

The percentage totals for the population of children and minors mirrors that of the adult population. There was a small group of German Americans, a significant African American population, and a southern Anglo American majority either born in a southern state or born in Texas to southern parents.

Table 3.16
Population Origins Summary
Children and Minors, San Marcos

	Number In 1870	As a % of All minors (%)	Number In 1880	As a % of All minors (%)
German American	6	1.5	19	3.0
Anglo	252	64.3	472	75.6
African American	134	34.2	133	21.1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 9th and 10th Census of the United States (Texas).

As the above table demonstrates the southern cultural influence would continue for the next generation. In 1870 almost 18 % of the Anglo children were born in a southern state besides Texas and 46 % born in Texas. These percentages only increased by the 1880 census with 22 % born in southern states and 57% born in Texas. As these children grew to adulthood, like the German children of New Braunfels, they would keep the cultural ways taught to them by their parents.

Conclusions

Along the edge of the Balcones Escarpment different people came and built two towns. Less than twenty miles separated them; so close but yet so far apart demographically. One was similar to other Texas towns created during this time. The

other was unlike anything seen before in Texas. New Braunfels's population started with Prince Solms-Braunfels and other Adelsverein committee members in 1845, a handful of people, to hundreds within a matter of days to over a thousand within few years. The numbers below show that the town was able to sustain these large numbers through the next 35 years.

Table 3.17
Population Comparison
New Braunfels and San Marcos 1850-1880

New Braunfels				
	Population In 1850	Population In 1860	Population In 1870	Population In 1880
New Braunfels				
Adults	1,003	880	1,052	872
Children/Minors	658	667	1,206	1,049
	-----	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	1,661	1,547	2,258	1,921
Slaves ¹²³	61	179		

¹²³ The number listed for the slaves represents the entire population for the county, not for the number living in each town. Just as slave schedules did not distinguish between adults and children, they did not distinguish between those who lived and worked in town or outside of the town. As other research has shown most slaves lived and worked outside of towns with only a few working as domestics in urban settings.

San Marcos

	Population In 1850	Population In 1860	Population In 1870	Population In 1880
San Marcos				
Adults	120	328	329	584
Children/Minors	145	333	392	624
	-----	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	265	661	721	1,208
Slaves	128	797		

Cultural similarities helped spur the growth as New Braunfels's residents worked together to build a centralized urban setting. Not having to deal with a large influx of people different from the Germans at the same time they were building a town gave them the time necessary to firmly establish their identity as a community. The continued movement of Germans into the area only helped to reinforce their culture and brought connections for the first generation of German Texans to the homeland their parents left behind. As other Texas towns, represented with San Marcos, struggled to grow during this time, it is all the more impressive what the Germans were able to accomplish.

Chapter Four Town Building Along the Escarpment

Urban Development in mid-19th Century Texas

Slow urban growth was endemic to antebellum Texas. Geographer Christopher S. Davies points out Texas developed late as an urban society and lagged behind the pace of urban growth in the United States even as late as 1970. Not until 1950 did the urban population finally outnumber the rural population. Instead of large urban centers, Texas throughout the 19th and early part of the 20th century was a state full of small towns. Cities exceeding several hundred thousand people did not exist in Texas prior to the 1930s, and “tier 1 cities” reaching populations of a million or more did not arrive until the later part of the 20th century. It was the smaller towns with populations between 2,500 and 25,000, or tier 4 and 5 cities, that “experienced a formidable staying power, a stability and endurance that superseded that of any other category.” Nineteenth century Texas, thus, never experienced the “age of great cities.”¹²⁴

Part of the reason resided in where Texas settlers’ placed their priorities. Anglo settlers who came prior to the large German migration groups divided their lands around farming activities using land grant systems. Land developers first partitioned land in long lots or rectangular lots, then sold or gave the land to farmers. Afterwards, as a speculative endeavor, land would be set aside for town development as needed. Settling and establishing a farm became the Anglo settler’s first priority and building a town

second. As southern Anglos came in larger numbers they brought their planter culture with them, which affected the development of many Texas towns east of the 100th meridian. Geographer Sam B. Hilliard recognized that with the plantation being the ultimate goal for most southern whites, “the plantation, not the city, was seen as the location of opportunity.” Second, where urban centers did form around planters, sustaining towns with a constant population and economy became a problem as plantations became self-contained. Since they grew or manufactured items needed on a daily basis, it lessened the need for urban centers.¹²⁵ Thus, towns remained small and struggled to grow. This differed from the German and European colonists brought in by groups such as the Adelsverein. Their first priority was to build a village or a town.¹²⁶

Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov found only 6% of Texas’s population in 1850 living in towns with 1,000 or more people. During the first years of New Braunfels’s existence only three towns dominated Texas. They were Galveston, San Antonio, and Houston with Austin becoming an important player by the late 1860s. The 1850 populations of the big three were Galveston with 4,177 people, San Antonio with 3,488 and finally Houston with 2,396.¹²⁷ Galveston, incorporated in 1839, was Texas’s largest city from 1850 through 1890.¹²⁸ When the population of these cities is compared to New Braunfels

¹²⁴ Christopher S. Davies, “Life at the Edge: Urban and Industrial Evolution of Texas, Frontier Wilderness – Frontier Space, 1836-1986,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Vol. 89, 1986), 479-484.

¹²⁵ Sam B. Hilliard, “Plantations and the molding of the Southern Landscape,” in *The Making of the American Landscape*, Michael P. Conzen, ed. (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 115-117.

¹²⁶ Edward T. Price, *Dividing the Land: Early American Beginning of Our Private Property Mosaic*, Geography Research Paper No. 238 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 305-318.

¹²⁷ Terry G. Jordan, “Population Origins in Texas, 1850,” *Geographical Review*, Vol. 59 No 1 (1969), 98, and Kenneth W. Wheeler, *To Wear a City’s Crown: The Beginnings of Urban Growth in Texas, 1836-1865*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 161-166.

¹²⁸ Susan Wiley Hardwick, *Mythic Galveston: Reinventing America’s Third Coast*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002), 4. It is interesting to note that Galveston had a large German population

with 1, 298 people in 1850, only four years after its founding, it is possible to see why many felt and acknowledged the presence of this German Texas town. When the population of the greater New Braunfels area and outlying suburbs are added to the people living within the town's boundary, New Braunfels was the fourth largest Texas town in 1850.¹²⁹ This fact and the speed at which the people built the town set it apart from other Texas cities and made the German culture stand out even more in this Anglo state.

Choosing a Site for a German Town

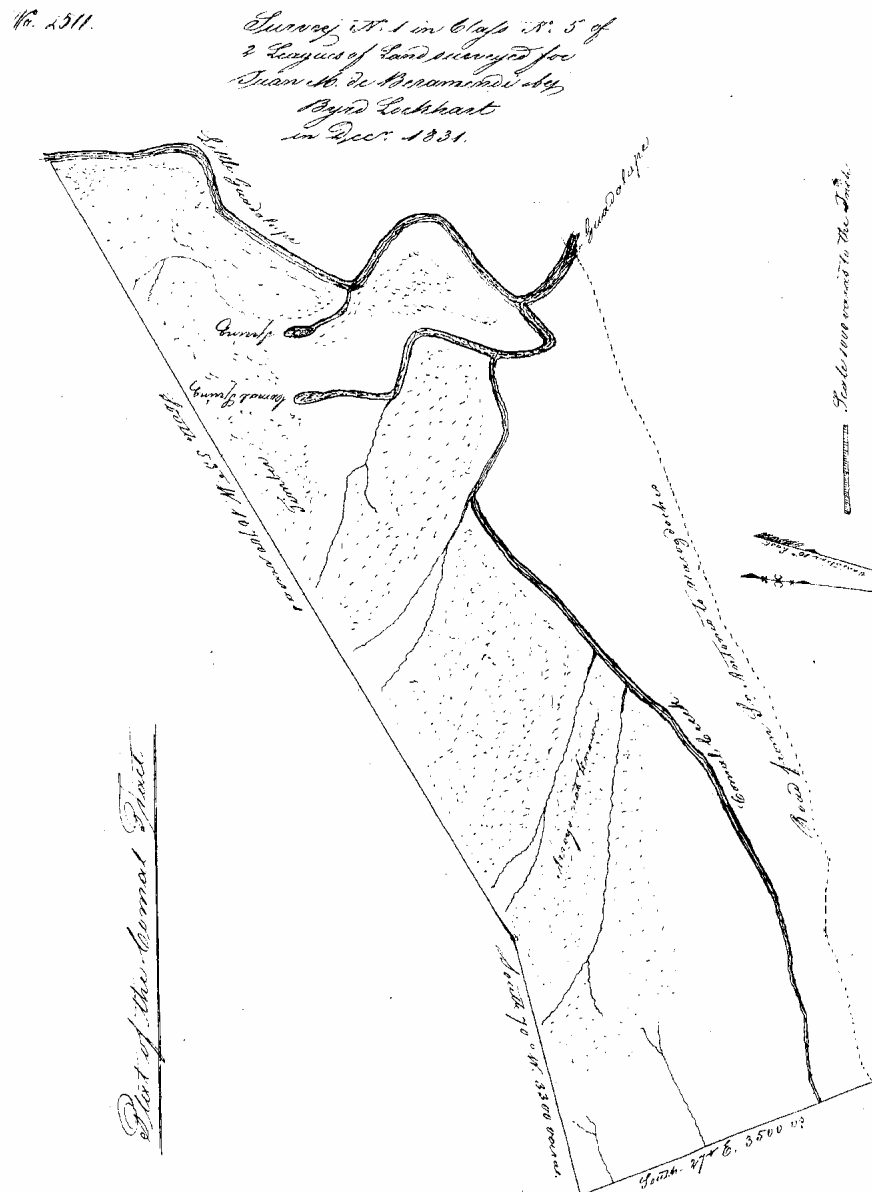
As 1844 drew to a close, Prince von Solms-Braunfels realized he needed to quickly get the way station to the remote land grant in the Hill Country started as German immigrants would soon arrive in Texas. The first time he mentioned the future site of New Braunfels was in his December 1844 report to the Directors of the Adelsverein. Three months later he set about securing the land after conducting multiple negotiations with the landowners Rafael Garza and his wife Maria Antonea Veramendi-Garza. After four days of negotiations, Solms-Braunfels signed the documents Saturday, March 15, 1845, which gave the Adelsverein clear title to 1,265 acres of land. On Tuesday, March 18th Braunfels and his entourage arrived on the property, the Comal tract. (See Figure 4.1)¹³⁰ Solms-Braunfels, engineer Nicholas Zink, botanist Ferdinand Lindheimer, and

in much of the town's formative years. In 1850 they were the largest European group living in Galveston. Hardwick, 35.

¹²⁹Rudolph L. Bieseke, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas 1831-1861*, (1930, Austin: Eakin Press, 1964) 135.

¹³⁰“Comal Tract,” Comal County Deed and Records, Book E, pg 117, Comal County Courthouse Annex, New Braunfels, Texas.

Figure 4.1 Comal Tract (1831)



others scouted the immediate area. As they cut trails to find water sources the Prince noted the springs, heavy wooded areas and soils in his report and how they would benefit the colony. The explorations ceased Friday, March 21st when the first German settlers arrived in fifteen wagons. Solms-Braunfels noted with enthusiasm in his diary that “Finally they are here!”¹³¹

He and Zink chose the townsite, staked out field plots and traced the outline of a “citadel” in those first days. Reports of large Indian groups nearby made the Prince nervous and he wanted to first get the town’s defenses in order. He had the fort placed on the “dominant height” in the area where below a town would be “laid out in all directions.” The two men decided to locate the town next to the escarpment and along the river. In 1847 Ferdinand Roemer gave the following geographical description of the town’s specific location. He wrote:

The city lies on a small, treeless plain, about one-half mile wide and one and one-half miles long. It is bounded on the south by gently rising hills; on the east by the Guadalupe River; and on the north and northwest by Comal Creek. A steep hill, about four hundred feet high, rises just across the Comal and extends in a northeasterly direction.¹³²

More recently geographer Hubert G.H. Wilhelm pointed out the advantage New Braunfels had in its location along the “margins of the Black Prairies immediately adjacent to the timbered hill country.” It gave the town command of a powerful water

¹³¹ Charles and Ethel Geue, *A New Land Beckoned* (Waco: Texan Press, 1966), 48, 66-67 and Wolfram M. Von-Maszewski, Trans. *Tagebuch einer Amerikareise [1844/45] Voyage to North America 1844-45, Prince Carl of Solms’s Texas Diary of People, Places, and Events* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2000), 136-137.

¹³² Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas, with Particular Reference to German Immigration and the Physical Appearance of the Country*, Oswald Mueller, trans. (San Antonio: Standard Printing Co., 1935), 92.

source with the Comal River and the Comal Springs, and put it “on the most direct route between Austin and San Antonio.”¹³³

As more settlers arrived after the initial March 21st group, an encampment was built next to the river. On March 27, 1845 Solms-Braunfels closed his report to the Adelsverein hoping to include more details of the town’s layout in the next update and even promised to give an exact town plan to the Adelsverein.¹³⁴ In the short span of eleven days Solms-Braunfels and others acquired the land for the way station, welcomed the first German settlers to the location, laid out field plots, began building a defensive site called the Sophienburg, set up the colonists encampment and began the work to lay out the town of New Braunfels. With hundreds of settlers on their way there was no time to waste with this endeavor. What these people did in April 1845 was a remarkable achievement for any town, especially in a state where communities were slow to form. It also set the place apart from other Texas towns and the fact that it was a group of Germans who accomplished the task did not go unnoticed. The quick growth marked New Braunfels and the next step would be to see what these Germans would do with the land and their town.

Laying out New Braunfels – Town and Field Lots

Again using geographer Davies’ work, he lists four growth cycles to explain the development of Texas towns. They are first “a ‘hollow-pioneer’ stage of early population invasion, then a ‘building’ or developing cycle, followed by a ‘mature’ or stabilizing era, and finally a ‘degenerate’ or declining condition.” There are no time frames for any of

¹³³ Hubert G. H. Wilhelm, *Organized German Settlement and Its Effects on the Frontier of South Central*

these cycles as each town has its own rhythm and growth periods with some development periods being erratic.¹³⁵ Applying these cycles to the study, New Braunfels bypassed the “hollow-pioneer” stage and went headfirst to the “building-developing” cycle. As just stated the Prince and his group over eleven days helped hundreds of German colonists begin the process of turning the Comal tract into the town of New Braunfels. By April’s end they laid out the town and began transferring to the colonists their half-acre city lots along with ten-acre farm lots. Temporary houses started to replace the conical tents, which served as shelter for Solms-Braunfels, Lindheimer, and other colonists camping along the river’s embankment.¹³⁶ The Prince wrote in his last report to the Adelsverein directors on April 30, 1845 that “it is a cheerful sight to see this beauty spot of nature developing and the land becoming inhabited.” He also included that he laid the cornerstone of the town’s fort and named it “Sophienburg.”¹³⁷ With that entry he left never to return, however, he put one of the first German imprints upon the community by laying out a fortress and giving it a German placename.

Nicolaus Zink, a civil engineer and former Bavarian army officer, surveyed and laid out the town of New Braunfels with the assistance of Hermann Wilke and Solms-Braunfels. (Figure 4.2)¹³⁸. The resulting configuration looked like many other towns across the United States. The central focus was a town square, streets intersecting at right

Texas, (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 82-83.

¹³⁴ Geue, *A New Land Beckoned*, 66-67.

¹³⁵ Davies, “Life at the Edge,” 492.

¹³⁶ Minetta Altgelt Goynes, *A Life Among the Texas Flora, Ferdinand Lindheimer’s Letters to George Engelmann*, (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1991), 114.

¹³⁷ Geue, *A New Land Beckoned*, 68.

¹³⁸ “New Braunfels Map,” Comal County Deed and Records, Book G, pg 127, Comal County Courthouse Annex, New Braunfels, Texas.

angles with residential lots emanating in four directions away from the square. Their design was very American. Zink then numbered the town lots and distributed them to the colonists. Adelsverein leaders parceled out 150 town lots to the German emigrants within the first few weeks of their arrival. In time there were 342 town lots in all. Those associated closest to the Adelsverein had first choice, and often the best choice, in the lots. Also, as officials handed out the lots to the families, those related to one another often secured lots next to one another. Finally, the Adelsverein kept a large portion of land around the Sophienburg to use for their headquarters.¹³⁹

Farm lots, mostly rectangular in shape, filled the rest of the land. These lots started about four blocks away from the square. Since the Balcones Escarpment formed the northwestern boundary of the town and the Comal River formed the boundary to northeast, surveyors put the farm plats primarily south and southwest of town where the terrain was flat and the soils were better suited to farming. The first farms appeared along the Nacogdoches road towards San Antonio.¹⁴⁰ Unlike Anglo families, the German families traveled back and forth to work their fields often using younger sons to help in this process. As with the town lots, Adelsverein associates received larger farm lots. A

¹³⁹ J. J. Groos, "Map of New Braunfels and Comaltown, 1850," Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas.

¹⁴⁰ Hermann Seele, *Die Cypresse und Gesammelte Schriften (The Cypress and Other Writings of a German Pioneer in Texas)*, Edward C. Breitenkamp, trans. (Austin: University of Texas Press), 41.

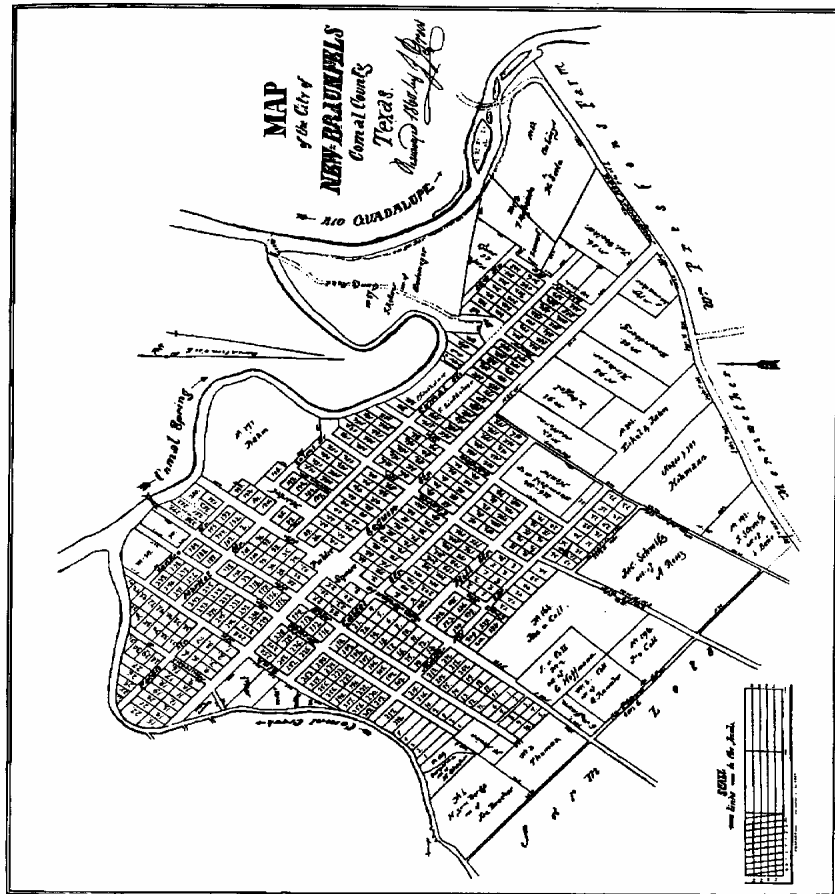


Figure 4.2 New Braunfels.City Map 1860

few families also had their farm lots located side by side in order to make working the fields easier for them. Zink surveyed 218 farm lots for the 160 individuals who received them because of their status “as an immigrant.” Verein officials sold the remainder to various individuals as a way to earn money for the Society.¹⁴¹

Many emigrants were not completely satisfied with these arrangements. Originally promised 160 acres of land for single men or 320 for married men on the

Fisher-Miller grant, Solms-Braunfels handed them the one-half and ten acre lots as settlement after he realized he could not get them to the grant land originally contracted by the Adelsverein. He believed, however, the arrangement temporary as the following year the group would move to their colony. The temporary arrangement became permanent after the Fisher-Miller land grant fell through. Letters written by these original settlers gave mixed responses to the situation. One wrote how everyone in the city had to “lay out half an acre for house and garden,” and how outside the town received a “present of ten acres for farming,” but still “expect[ed] to get 320 acres” upon reaching the colony. There were a few satisfied with the arrangements and showed no desire to move on. Johann Lux wrote about his town and farm lot and the additional land further west, but said that the ten acres would satisfy him for here he did not have to “sow and harvest for the cattle.” He implied work would be more demanding out on the grant land.¹⁴²

In those first days and months the emigrants worked steadily at building their town. A letter written by a colonist to a family member back in Germany described the moment “of industrious activity everywhere. One builds a house; another a hut; one makes a fence, another a cowpen, here one plows; yonder one digs, and thus one hears the noise of activity all day long.”¹⁴³ The letter helped explain Solms-Braunfels’s disappointment expressed in his last report as the colonists failed to help construct the

¹⁴¹ Fey, *The First Founders*, 147-153.

¹⁴² Nicholas and Anton Riedel letter, 30 April 1845 and Johann Hubert Lux letter, 1 May 1845 as printed in Everett Fey’s *New Braunfels: The First Founders, Volume I, The History* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1994), 161, 163.

¹⁴³ Oscar von Claren, “Von Claren’s Letter to His Sister in Germany, New Braunfels, May 2, 1845,” in Curt E. Schmidt’s *New Braunfelser Jahrbuch 1981* (New Braunfels: Folkways Publishing Co., 1981), 50.

needed Verein buildings. For example, instead of a sturdy storehouse, an “inadequate shack” held the colony’s grain and the lack of other Verein buildings resulted from the “scarcity of workers” as people built their homes first before anything else.¹⁴⁴ As the Prince prepared to return for Germany on May 15, 1845, a community was quickly taking shape. While one important person left, another had just arrived. Herman Seele, educator and writer, recorded one of the first entries of New Braunfels by one not present at the initial founding of the town. Arriving from Victoria and Gonzales, Seele crossed the Comal creek and wrote that he “found himself right in the middle of the town which was stretched out in front of [him]. On one hilltop was the Sophienburg, on another the encampment. Tents, single trees, small corrals, houses under construction [were] all scattered over the green plain.”¹⁴⁵

The Town Square

When Zink drew up the plans for New Braunfels there were no buildings to be constructed in the center of town. Instead, the focus was on an open town square, or central plaza modeled after the Lancaster square.¹⁴⁶ The Lancaster town square was commonly used throughout the eastern United States and especially in the Ohio Valley states. The square is formed where the two main roads intersect at the center, but with sections removed from each corner of the block in order to open up a wide rectangular

¹⁴⁴ Prince Karl of Solm-Braunfels, “Eleventh Report to the Adelsverein Committee” 30 April 1845, Charles and Esther Geue trans., *A New Land Beckoned: German Immigration to Texas, 1844-1847* (Waco: Texian Press, 1966), 68.

¹⁴⁵ Hermann Seele. *The Diary of Hermann Seele and Seele’s Sketches from Texas*, Theodore Gish, trans. (Austin: German-Texan Heritage Society, 1995), 258.

¹⁴⁶ Robert E. Veselka, *The Courthouse Square in Texas*, Kenneth E. Foote, ed., (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 138-139.

space of land. The open area can then be used for multiple purposes. The way the streets feed into the open block determined the type of town square.¹⁴⁷ The two thoroughfares through New Braunfels that led into the open square were Seguin and San Antonio Streets. Seguin Street ran parallel to the river in a northwest to southeast direction, and San Antonio lay in a northeast to southwest direction. Both major roads connected the town to trade routes throughout the area. These main streets were wide to allow the mule drawn wagons easy movement down them. All other streets ran parallel to these two major roads and intersected at right angles. (Figure 4.2)

While the plan described above comes from an 1850 map where straight lines clearly define the various components of the town, it differs from Ferdinand Roemer's account when he visited the city in 1847. First, he called the town a hamlet "laid out according to a regular plan" whereby "all streets cross at right angles and the principal streets converge at the market square."¹⁴⁸ However, when he first came to New Braunfels he could not make out all the roads and he was even unsure where to find the main roads in and out of town. It would not be until a return trip months later that he would describe a town more in line with the map. Obviously it took time to get the land to conform to what Zink drew on paper.

Street names helped put people on the right path to distant cities or gave the location of a prevalent local landmark. For example, San Antonio Street, Seguin Street, and Nacogdoches Road connected travelers to further routes leading to the three places. Garden Street led to Lindheimer's botanical garden, the Protestant church was located on

¹⁴⁷ Edward T. Price, "The Central Courthouse Square in the American County Seat," *Geographical Review*,

Church Street, Mill Street led to the cotton factory, and Bridge Street ended where the ferry took people across the Comal. Prominent people in local and state history received streets named after them as well. Thus, if one was new to town or passing through they could use the street names as a type of map to help them on their way.

Unlike most southern U.S. towns, the New Braunfels's courthouse was not in the middle of the town square. Citizens used the open space for multiple purposes. People referred to it as the marketplace and the public square, the two basic functions of the place. They used it as a gathering place to socialize, trade and sell their goods. The first courthouse and first court session took place instead in the home of Conrad Seabaugh, Comal County Clerk. He built his home on Lot 36 located on the northeast corner of the square. When an opportunity presented itself to build a courthouse in the middle of the square in 1849, the city council in a special session decided against the measure. The council offered two lots along the Comal River to either construct a courthouse on or sell the land and use that money to build one, provided that "the courthouse was not built on the public square in New Braunfels." No written reason exists to specifically explain why city officials did not want a courthouse inside the square as found in other Texas towns. One possible explanation was the lack of a German tradition in Europe to have the local or regional government building sitting in the middle of the town square. Another could be city leaders wanted to keep the space for market activities and a large open area would be needed for wagons to gather and turn around in with ease. A public building would not allow for such activity. Nevertheless, for the next 11 years the

58, (1968), 29-39.

courthouse moved to several locations around town, even serving a brief term in the Protestant Church, before the construction of the first courthouse in 1860 on the southern corner of the public square.¹⁴⁹

Other Notables

While towns share elements such as town squares and courthouses, there are some that can stand out. New Braunfels had its share of notable components to help distinguish the place from other surrounding communities. As previously mentioned, Ferdinand Lindheimer received multiple town lots of almost five acres from the Adelsverein. They amply provided him with a farm and house at no cost in exchange they would all equally share any losses or gains. He intended to conduct agricultural experiments and other studies in natural science on the property in his arboretum, botanical and agricultural garden. He wanted to focus his agricultural work studying southern and tropical fruits. He hoped to employ several men to aid him in his work, and eventually work with the Baron von Meusebach, a mineralogist, who envisioned opening a secondary academy for studying the natural sciences.¹⁵⁰ These plans never reached fruition as Meusebach went on to live in Fredericksburg and Lindheimer's many responsibilities never allowed him to conduct the full scale research he envisioned.

Similar to the lack of the German precedent with public buildings located in town squares, there was none for setting up provisions for a town botanist. There was also no Texas precedent either for this unusual action by New Braunfels's founders. Land and

¹⁴⁸ Roemer, *Texas, with Particular Reference to German Immigration*, 93.

¹⁴⁹ Oscar Haas, *A History of New Braunfels and Comal County, 1844-1946* (Austin: The Steck Co., 1968), 96-102.

¹⁵⁰ Goyne, *A Life Among Texas Flora*, 117.

especially town lots quickly evaporated in the early part of New Braunfels history, so the fact that officials gave multiple town lots, and ones so close to the central square to Lindheimer speaks to their desire to improve the town's reputation among those who called the area home and for those who passed through. It also created a visual anomaly for those who passed by his home. Where one normally saw houses nestled close to one another on their small lots, Lindheimer's place stood out and people noticed this difference, another element that made the town different.

Another thing different was the name given by local residents for their downtown space. Local mapmakers labeled the downtown square "market-square," and the "public square." Even after locating the courthouse on a corner of the square, local residents never referred to the area as a courthouse square. Even today New Braunfels's residents call the area "the plaza" or make reference to the bandstand, an addition made much later to the town center. Additionally, there was another square situated a block behind the central town square called market square. (Figure 4.3)¹⁵¹ This smaller, more elongated rectangle served as a true market where local people came to trade and sell their goods. The area still exists today, but it serves as a grassy park area lined with crepe myrtle trees and benches.

Still another notable aspect involved William Merriwether, a southerner who left his mark physically upon the New Braunfels city landscape. He amassed \$50,000 worth of real estate located between Comal creek and the Comal River, as well as in the hills above Comaltown. He bought the land in 1847 from the Veramendi family and on the

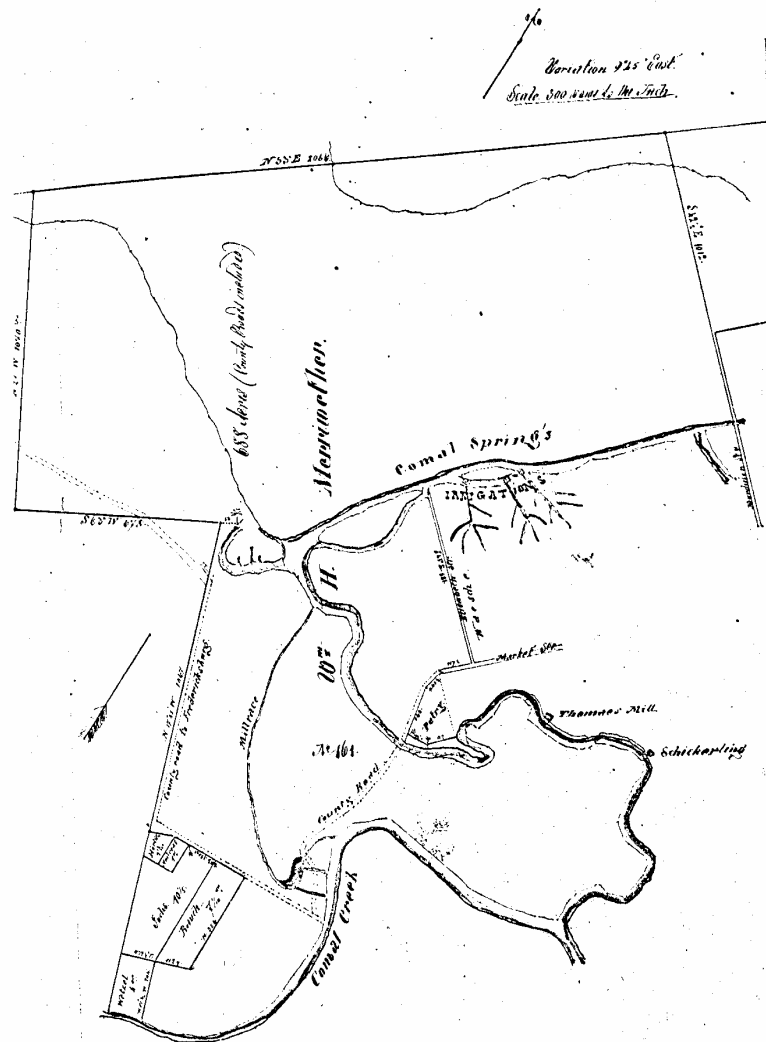
¹⁵¹ "New Braunfels," Map 2807-A, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin, Texas.

property were the headwaters of the Comal River, which he used to his benefit. He also used his slaves and great wealth to change the landscape along the Comal. By 1850 a completed waterway dug by his slaves, referred to as the mill race on maps, diverted Comal headwaters to his saw and grist mill. (Figure 4.4)¹⁵² The mill race ended at a steep bluff where the water poured over and created a 22 foot waterfall down to the creek below, which provided the necessary power to operate his mills.¹⁵³

Finally, stagecoaches came through New Braunfels several times a week carrying people, packages and mail. Two different companies came through New Braunfels twice

¹⁵² “Landa Property,” Comal County Deed and Records, Book G, pg 133, Comal County Courthouse Annex, New Braunfels, Texas.

¹⁵³ Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, 97-98; Henry Stark, Jr., *The Oasis of Texas* (New Braunfels: The Landa Estate, 1902), np and Haas, *A History of New Braunfels*, 178. The mill race is marked on the 1850 map of New Braunfels and Comaltown, but the 1868 New Braunfels map shows the area in much richer detail. See Map 3. The waterfall still exists and can be seen at the entrance to the Wurstfest grounds in Landa Park.



I know all more by these records, that whereas heretofore to
 wit on the 15 Day of May A.D. 1860, the said Merriwether and Landa
 the Merriwether of the County of Shelby and State of
 Tennessee, for certain and definite to David Landa of
 the County of Landa and State of Texas, a certain tract
 of land, more or less, and part of Land, heretofore
 described, with the consideration and with the consideration
 adjoining the property, which, said deed was duly

Figure 4.4 Merriwether-Landa Property, Mill Race, 1860

a week on their way from San Antonio to the Galveston area. Another came twice a week connecting New Braunfels to San Antonio, Austin, Bastrop, and on to Houston. The coaches traveled upon the old Camino Real as well as other roads. As early as 1848 there were three roads connecting New Braunfels to San Antonio, and one to Seguin.¹⁵⁴ County Commissioners recognized the importance of these major thoroughfares and in 1847 they designated San Antonio and Seguin Streets as highways.¹⁵⁵ Once the town was firmly established, the Adelsverein took the next step and laid a road from New Braunfels towards the Fisher-Miller grant. In the same way that officials used previously established trails such as the Camino Real as a guide in building roads, they used the Indian trail, the Pindas Trail, as a guide to build this one.¹⁵⁶ It cut through the hill country up to the Pedernales River, where the second way station Fredericksburg, was built. People often moved back and forth between the two towns along the route and it became known as the Fredericksburg Road and eventually formed the basis for today's Texas State Highway 46.¹⁵⁷ Other roads built or improved upon was the one to Seguin to the southeast of town, now part of Highway 46 and Schumansville Road south of town, the forerunner of Farm to Market Road 725.

The descriptive elements show that while the Germans brought some cultural elements with them, they were unable to completely transfer all their culture with them. If they had New Braunfels would look more European. Ultimately there was no way to

¹⁵⁴ Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, 82-83.

¹⁵⁵ Laurie E. Jasinski, *Hill Country Backroads, Showing the Way in Comal County*, (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2001), 5.

¹⁵⁶ W.M. Von-Maszewski, trans. *A Sojourn in Texas, 1846-47, Alwin H. Sorgel's Texas Writings*, (San Marcos: German-Texan Heritage Society, 1992), 163.

¹⁵⁷ Goyne, *A Life Among Texas Flora*, 146.

replicate what took hundreds and in some cases, thousands of years to develop – a European town. Even if they could there is no evidence to support that they wanted to rebuild what they just left behind. Instead they built a new town carefully planned with elements from both their German culture and the one just encountered, the southern Anglo culture. As a result there are elements of the two cultures coexisting such as designing an American style town square, but in European fashion there were no buildings in the central portion of the square. Farm lots lay on the outskirts of town, but where southern Anglos would have lived on their farmland, these first German emigrants lived in town and traveled to their farms to work their fields. But there were those aspects that stayed true to their European precedent such as adding a market square to the town, in addition to the town square. Finally, there were those traits that had no explanation such as giving Ferdinand Lindheimer multiple lots so he could conduct his experiments just a few blocks away from the center of town. The best way, though, to reveal the things that made New Braunfels different from other Texas towns, and to try and understand what role German culture had on town development is to briefly look at some of the contemporary writings of the community in its early years.

Sketches of Early New Braunfels

One of the first eyewitness descriptions of New Braunfels's unfolding, by Hermann Seele in May, 1845, is listed above. Other accounts of the first months and years give a deeper understanding of New Braunfels's urban metamorphosis. They all show a town in the midst of rapid growth to counter the continual inflow of emigrants. Ten months after the town's founding, around 150 homes housed more or less 1,200

people. Little farming could be found since they came late in the planting season. A year and a half later, a little over 200 houses stood by October of 1846.¹⁵⁸

Again using Roemer's first description of New Braunfels, there were about 100 houses "scattered at irregular distances" on the town lots when he first visited the community. This was the reason for little evidence of the regular town plan mentioned earlier. He said Seguin Street was the only "distinguishable" street because residents living along the road had fenced in their town lot, which outlined it. He found a variety of house types "as everyone was allowed to follow his own taste and inclination." Homes made of logs, brick, cut lumber, and cedar posts "driven vertically into the ground like the posts of a stockade" lined the streets. Instead of shingled roofs, for wood shingles were in short supply, tent canvases and oxhides covered the houses. Climate, he noticed, played a factor with first home construction as the Germans worked to adjust to their new surroundings. As a result, American style roofed-in porches greeted visitors. Here people escaped the heat of a summer afternoon in the shade on their porch. Oddly, he noted, most homes lacked fireplaces.¹⁵⁹

The Germans showed no hesitation in adopting southern Anglo and even Mexican architectural styles. The house of vertical cedar posts resembling a stockade showed the German adoption of the Mexican house style called a jacal.¹⁶⁰ Geographer Hubert G. H. Wilhelm also wrote about the adoption of Anglo-American building techniques by the

¹⁵⁸ Viktor Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, trans. Charles Frank Schmidt, with an Introduction by Theodore G. Gish, (San Marcos: German Texan Heritage Society and Department of Modern Languages, Southwest Texas State University), 164, 174.

¹⁵⁹ Roemer, *Texas, with Particular Reference to German Immigration*, 93-94.

early German settlers such as the log saddlebag, or dogtrot house with roofed-in porches. The log house dominated early house forms and sometimes sedge grass taken from river's edge served as roofing material. When the Germans had more money and time, they would begin construction on a second home. The fachwerk or half-timbered houses, along with the stone houses more commonly connected with German Texas communities appeared as second homes. The builder then either converted the original structure into a storehouse or barn, or tore the structure down. While first impulses drove the German to adopt southern Anglo architecture, Wilhelm pointed out "that the German settler returned to his traditional building materials and methods, [which] revealed his preference for those time-honored and familiar traits essential in the construction of a home symbolizing its builder's permanent attachment to the land."¹⁶¹

Other Roemer highlights listed were the Protestant church, a "moderately large frame building" lacking proper windows. The church also served as a schoolhouse for the town's children. No Catholic church building existed yet, even though Catholics conducted masses. Catholic Bishop Odin came to New Braunfels in 1847 to begin the process of building a church on the northwest edge of town along the Comal creek. Roemer also mentioned several buildings around the square. The one house on the market square served as the local saloon and nearby stood two "other frame buildings." One was a general store, which he found as a "peculiarity of an American colony, and the

¹⁶⁰ Joe S. Graham, "The *Jacal* in South Texas: The Origins and Forms of a Folk House," *Hecho en Tejas: Texas-Mexican Folk Arts and Crafts*, Joe S. Graham, ed. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1991), 293-299.

¹⁶¹ Wilhelm, *Organized German Settlement*, 145-146, 201.

other served as a hotel, tavern and store. An eating establishment in a log house existed at the end of Seguin Street.¹⁶²

Roemer left New Braunfels in February 1847 to travel through the hill country. He returned to New Braunfels fourteen months later to a very different sight. Before he even reached the town he noticed where a year before there were no farms along the Comal, now in April, 1848 German farms lined the river “almost uninterruptedly for a stretch of eight miles.” Once he reached New Braunfels he remarked about the “numerous new houses” in the town and how the place “looked much more like a city.” Streets made out before only on a map could now be visibly recognized on the ground. Fenced in fields around the town were ready for planting. Roemer seemed pleased with the progress made over the last year. Viktor Bracht, a New Braunfels resident who wrote about town improvements at the same time confirmed Roemer’s statements. Street extensions, more land plowed and planted, second and more durable homes replacing hastily built log homes with a few “attractive and well painted houses” among them, about a dozen two story structures, well kept gardens, and better employment opportunities equated better living conditions than those of the first years. However, there were still no stone houses and a little more than 100 log houses left.¹⁶³ A year later two stone houses finally stood in New Braunfels surrounded by “pitiful huts,” which was one of the few highlights reported by Wilhelm Steinert during his visit in 1849. He

¹⁶² Roemer, *Texas, with Particular Reference to German Immigration*, 95-100, 213 and Wilhelm Steinert, *North America, Particularly Texas in the Year 1849: A Travel Account, A Book for Emigrants, Especially for Persons Enthusiastic about Emigration*, Gilbert J. Jordan, trans., Terry Jordan-Bychkov, ed., (Dallas: DeGolyer Library & William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 1999), 59.

¹⁶³ Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, 93, 183.

complained, as others, about street conditions when rainy weather set in and about the smell from animals allowed to roam the streets at night.¹⁶⁴

The German writers, except for a few, wrote favorably about the town. Topics that appeared more often than others covered tracking the number of houses in existence and noting their increase since a previous visit, how the houses differed from the ones in Germany, which showed a willingness to adapt to other cultural styles, religious structures, and the orderly growth of the community. People tend to write about things that concern them most, or those important to them. These personal sketches reveal elements important to the Germans, which allows a glimpse into what cultural traits ranked high on their list. Even the negative reports share the same concern over certain cultural issues. That is, complaints about inadequate housing and dirty streets say the same thing as the positive reports – housing and careful, orderly town growth were important to these German emigrants. However, it is one thing to be a German emigrant writing about your own culture, it is another for someone from outside the culture group to write about the Germans. These people better reveal the elements that set the town apart from other towns.

On the eve of the town's 10th anniversary, Frederick Law Olmsted stayed a short time in New Braunfels. He left behind one of the best early descriptions of the town written by a non-German. The fact he came through in 1854 allows for a glimpse into the town after the frenzied first years. Even though he wrote more favorably about the

¹⁶⁴ Steinert, *North America, Particularly Texas in the Year 1849*, 58-59.

Germans than the Anglo-Americans,¹⁶⁵ what he had to say about New Braunfels, the town, is useful for this study. He wrote,

The main street of the town, which we soon entered upon, was very wide – three times as wide, in effect, as Broadway in New York. The houses, with which it was thickly lined on each side for a mile, were small, low cottages, of no pretensions to elegance, yet generally looking neat and comfortable. Many were either stuccoed or painted. There were many workshops of mechanics and small stores, with signs oftener in English than in German; and bare-headed women, and men in caps and short jackets, with pendent pipes, were everywhere seen at work.¹⁶⁶

In addition to the above, Olmsted remarked even though the houses were small, they were weather-tight, something he not encountered in other areas of Texas. He believed the quality of life within a smaller German-Texan home ranked higher than in a larger Anglo-American home. One of his more memorable moments of his visit came at the Schmitz Hotel. He compared the whitewashed walls of the hotel to the “loose boarded or hewn log walls, with crevices stuffed with rags or daubed with mortar” found in the other places he stayed in Texas. He wrote that only two or three times he saw whitewashed interior walls, and those were in the more “aristocratic American residences.” When Olmsted stepped into the Schmitz hotel he felt that he was in Germany.¹⁶⁷

Where German commentators complained about inadequate housing, an Anglo American reveled in the superior construction of the buildings. Where some Germans

¹⁶⁵ In his writings Olmsted wanted to show that one could make just as much money, or even more money, on agricultural products grown without the use of slave labor. His anti-slavery views are found all throughout his book, *A Journey Through Texas Or, a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier*. So, when he meets up with the German communities who did not actively employ slave labor, he was much more positive in his portrayal of them.

¹⁶⁶ Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas Or, a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier*, Foreword by Larry McMurtry, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 143.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 143, 147.

became dismayed with their surroundings, another found a way of life far better than any other encountered in the state.

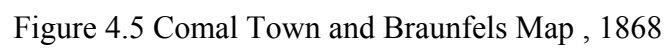
The Suburbs of New Braunfels

Building activities continued in earnest over the next few years as more Germans arrived in New Braunfels. The number of available town lots diminished as colonists quickly filled the original 1,265 acres called New Braunfels. The Veramendi family, who had retained possession of their property east of the Comal River, finally sold off some of this land to accommodate the expanding population. Land speculators bought large sections and began to plat more town lots between the Comal and Guadalupe rivers, as well as on the other side of the Guadalupe. These sections, known as Comaltown and Hortontown, caught the overflow of people unable to find accommodations in New Braunfels. (Figure 4.5)¹⁶⁸ Even though Roemer called these two locations “cities” and credited their development to “speculative Americans,” they never developed as such and quickly became essentially, part of the larger community of New Braunfels.¹⁶⁹

Comaltown, begun in late 1845 and the early part of 1846, experienced the most development of the two suburbs. Surveyor J. J. Groos’s 1850 map of New Braunfels showed Comaltown in great detail. Clearly marked on the 1850 drawing was another town square with rectangular town lots fanning out in four directions away from it, and

¹⁶⁸ “New Braunfels,” Map 2807-A, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin, Texas.

¹⁶⁹ Roemer, *Texas, with Particular Reference to German Immigration*, 290-291.



farm lots flanking both sides of the town lots. As Roemer reported that an American designed Comaltown, this could explain the presence of the Shelbyville square on the map. The prototype for this simpler square, according to geographer Edward T. Price, is found in Shelbyville, Tennessee, a state that provided many settlers for Texas.¹⁷⁰

An early resident of Comaltown, Ida Kapp who moved there in 1850 with her husband, gave a description of the place. Because people scattered their houses all about in between trees and grass, and combined with the way the streets were laid out, this made her call the place a village instead of a town. Her home differed in Comaltown from most, especially from the majority of the one room “leaky” homes she found in New Braunfels. Four rooms made up the Kapp house and it had a porch, which she called a “gallerie” where the family spent much of their time.¹⁷¹

Jacob S. Cordova owned the land of the other suburb, Hortontown, also called Neighborsville. Leopold Iwonsky, however, developed the residential area across the Guadalupe River in 1847.¹⁷² A map of the area shows four rectangular blocks with eight town lots in each and four long lots along the riverbank. (Figure 4.6)¹⁷³ Twenty-one farm lots made up the rest of the area with one lot set aside for the first Lutheran church in Texas, St. Martin’s. There was no town square, but two main roads ran the length of the community, Shaw and Broadway streets, with other minor streets intersecting the

¹⁷⁰ Edward T. Price, “The Central Couthouse Square in the American County Seat,” 44.

¹⁷¹ Ida Kappell Kapp, Letter to sister, 13 January 1850 as printed in *The Golden Free Land: The Reminiscences and Letters of Women on an American Frontier*, Crystal Sasse Ragsdale, ed. (Austin: Landmark Press, 1976), 101-103.

¹⁷² Seele, *The Cypress*, 201.

¹⁷³ “Neighborsville,” Comal County Deed and Records, Book G, pg 574, Comal County Courthouse Annex, New Braunfels, Texas.

larger streets and in between farm lots. Thus, Comaltown and Hortontown helped resolve the lack of residential space in New Braunfels and served an important role all through the time frame of this study.

The Founding of San Marcos

In 1845, the same year the Adelsverein created New Braunfels, Dr. Eli T. Merriman and Edward Burleson, a former Vice-President of the Republic of Texas, bought part of the Veramendi Grant along the San Marcos River. William Lindsey also bought a part of the grant. The three men all knew one another and worked together on political issues when Texas was a Republic. The three joined forces with their land and decided to create a speculative settlement along the San Marcos River. The next year they had James R. Pace of Austin survey and lay out the town of San Marcos on 640 acres of land owned by the three men.¹⁷⁴ They then began promoting the town to bring in settlers and San Marcos was born.

As pointed out earlier in Chapter One, New Braunfels and San Marcos share many physical attributes. Among them is their site and situation for the towns. Similar to New Braunfels, San Marcos's founders decided to locate the town adjacent to a river where power could be harnessed through water wheels. A river on one side, the steep hills of the Balcones Escarpment provided the other natural boundary for the town. As Roemer wrote about New Braunfels, he also wrote about San Marcos in its earliest formation. He stopped there and stayed overnight with a company of mounted rangers along with a few families who just arrived in their wagons to "found a settlement." He

remarked how the town's location was in an "advantageous and pleasant place," and how it sat in a "parklike prairie." He noted that on one side there was a forest nearby the river, which would provide necessary lumber for construction purposes, and steep hills on the other, the "beginning of the higher hill country."¹⁷⁵ Viktor Bracht also wrote about the new town and stated that it was located only a "few hundred paces from the springs."¹⁷⁶

Town and Farm Lots

Merriman, Burleson and Lindsey worked to promote settlement and gave settlers their town lots to build upon. Maps and county records show in great detail how Pace divided up the town and farm lots. (Figure 4.7)¹⁷⁷ Thirty blocks comprised of town lots and 27 farm lots on the perimeter made up San Marcos. As few as four and up to 16 town lots made up each city block and the town lots measured 57 x 30 varas, or 158 x 83 feet with a 16 foot alley in the middle of each block. Farm lots varied in size. Lot six was the smallest at two acres and Lot 15 the largest with 54 acres. The farm lots with the most value were those located by the river, nearest to town.

¹⁷⁴ Frances Stovall, et.al., *Clear Springs and Limestone Ledges, A History of San Marcos and Hays County for the Texas Sesquicentennial*, for the Hays County Historical Commission 1986, (Austin: Eakin Press, 1986), 83.

¹⁷⁵ Roemer, *Texas with Particular Reference to German Immigration*, 182.

¹⁷⁶ Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, 97.

¹⁷⁷ "San Marcos, 1880," Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin, Texas.

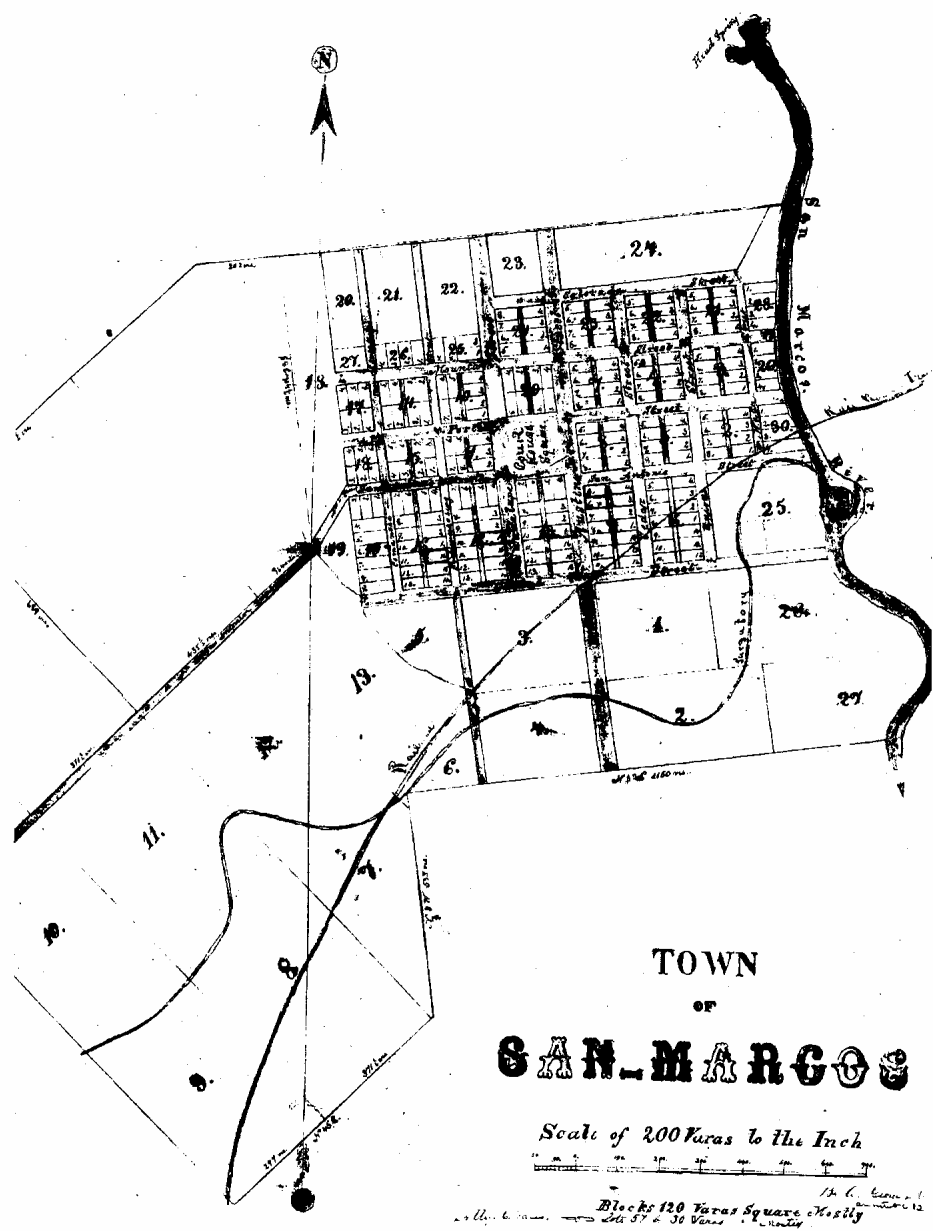


Figure 4.7 1850 San Marcos Original Town Plat, circa 1880

The Town Square, Buildings and Other Notables

Burleson, Lindsey and Merriman decided upon a Shelbyville square for the town's center. In true Shelbyville style town leaders built a courthouse in the center of the square.¹⁷⁸ San Marcos had multiple courthouses on this spot throughout its history. The first was a two-story frame building with four offices and a jury room built in 1861. A fire destroyed the building in 1868 and a new one replaced it in 1871, but it was torn down in 1881 to make room for a three story F.E. Ruffini courthouse, a well-known architect of Texas courthouses. Fire swept through this structure in 1908 burning the upper floors of the building. The extensive damaged forced the demolition of all but the foundation of the Ruffini building, whereupon contractors from Austin built the current courthouse.¹⁷⁹

The major road through San Marcos was Austin Street, which cut through the middle of town, formed the east boundary of the square, and ran north to south, parallel to the San Marcos River. San Antonio Street, a part of the Camino Real, which intersected Austin Street on the town square, served the other major road out of town and formed the southern boundary to the square and ended at the river's bank. Six other streets cutting north to south routes through town were Water, Union, Cedar, Guadalupe, Fredericksburg, and Comanche streets. Going in an east to west direction were Comal, Fort, Mountain and Colorado streets. The above were the twelve roads in early San Marcos, and as place names they mostly commemorate a local, physical characteristic, a surrounding county, or the next town found on the road leading away from San Marcos.

¹⁷⁸ Veselka, *Courthouse Square*, 152-153.

Also, there were few buildings in San Marcos the first years. Situated on the square were two log cabin stores and a log tavern. Nearby were a few homes, also made of logs. The Methodist church established their first congregation in one of these homes. A few blocks away on the banks of the San Marcos and at the bottom of the hill from his home, Burleson built a saw and a grist mill, which served the town well those first years. During the next few decades four more mills would be built along the river within the town's proximity.¹⁸⁰

San Marcos shared stagecoach routes with New Braunfels. Coaches with routes from San Antonio through to Austin stopped in both locations. Stringtown, a small cluster community to the southeast, served as a stop on many routes.¹⁸¹ There were other transportation routes in the early years. The Post Road took travelers to Austin and in the 1860s county commissioners ordered a new road built to Dripping Springs. Besides these routes, the Camino Real still served as a major route to San Antonio and eastward to Louisiana.¹⁸²

Sketches of Early San Marcos

An early writing by Bracht, contemporary with the founding years of San Marcos, described the area and town with great enthusiasm. He first traveled through the area in 1846 and recorded no more than five homes in the town. Two years later between twenty and 30 homes stood in the town along with two hotels, a school and a store, with many homes under construction. Sixty feet above the town he described Burleson's house as a

¹⁷⁹ Stovall, et.al., *Clear Springs and Limestone Ledges*, 132-136.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 71-72, 83.

¹⁸¹ Zora M. Talbot, *Stringtown*, (Corpus Christi, TX: University of Corpus Christi, 1961), 21-22.

¹⁸² Stovall, et. al., *Clear Springs and Limestone Ledges*, 128-133.

“genuine rural spot” on his hill where the “famous springs of the San Marcos River gush forth.” Below the house in a fertile valley lay Burleson’s farm. Bracht envisioned the future of San Marcos as an area filled with people, homes and plantations.¹⁸³

Wilhelm Steinert, who passed through San Marcos the next year, reported fewer houses than Bracht, and reported no houses under construction at that time. Instead he found the surrounding area more heavily settled and the land there under cultivation along with several large farms where slaves worked the fields. Steinert corroborated with Bracht in the finding of a school and a sawmill.¹⁸⁴ Though both writers may differ slightly on whether the houses stood exactly in town or just outside, the census taker counted 41 dwellings in San Marcos two years later in 1850.¹⁸⁵

Olmsted also passed through San Marcos during his Texas travels. He evidently did not spend much time in the town itself, for as Steinert and Bracht counted multiple houses, a school, and a sawmill in their written encounters, Olmsted mentioned only three homes. He reported that most people lived scattered about a mile or so apart. He probably traveled through either the small community, Stringtown, or Thompson Island, another small cluster of farms similar to Stringtown located on the east side of the San Marcos River.¹⁸⁶ Again, his prejudice against southern Anglo slave owners may have played a part in his derogatory portrayal of the town.

¹⁸³ Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, 97, 200.

¹⁸⁴ Wilhelm Steinert, *North America, Particularly Texas in the Year 1849*, 92.

¹⁸⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States, Hays County, (Texas).

Two Young Towns in 1850 – A Comparison

New Braunfels celebrated five years as a town in 1850 while San Marcos celebrated four. While one grew at a pace so fast that adjacent residential areas formed in order to house everyone, the other struggled to take shape. As stated at the beginning of the chapter, a town's shape depended upon its inhabitants' priorities. The people who founded New Braunfels came from farm villages in an urbanized and industrialized Germany. As geographer Terry Jordan-Bychkov pointed out, Europeans "were accustomed through their cultural heritage to nucleated settlements" so doing the same thing in the Texas frontier seemed only natural.¹⁸⁷ It also helped that the Germans came as an organized group, sponsored by the Adelsverein, with the intention of establishing planned communities. This priority showed as New Braunfels quickly sprang forth at the base of the Balcones Escarpment. The Anglo-American residents in and around San Marcos focused on setting up farms and farming. Southern Anglos tended to live in rural settings and throughout Texas they made up the majority of the state's rural population.¹⁸⁸ For the people in and around San Marcos, building a town was not a high priority, which helps explain the town's slow development in the years before the Civil War.

Another way to track the two town's growth and compare them is to examine the number of dwellings counted in the U.S. Census. The census taker went to 276 dwellings in New Braunfels in 1850 and a decade later he visited 373. These numbers do not include the houses in Comaltown or Hortontown, which would add over 100 more

¹⁸⁶ Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 136-137.

residences to the count if included in the 1850 numbers and add close to 400 more for the 1860 numbers. These numbers are high for a young town, but properly reflect the large population.¹⁸⁹ In San Marcos, as stated above 41 homeowners built residences there, and some of these certainly existed outside the immediate area of the town. It is difficult to get an exact count before the town's incorporation in 1873. Unlike the clear boundaries between town and farm lots in New Braunfels, none existed for San Marcos. While some built their homes in town, most scattered their homesteads about the area making it difficult for a census taker to decide if one lived in town proper. The 1860 census reflects this confusion and makes it even more difficult to get an accurate dwelling count. For example, sometimes in the middle of the San Marcos enumeration families identified through other records as living in Stringtown are found in the middle of the San Marcos count. While it was possible to identify those families, there may be other families listed in the San Marcos census, like those in Stringtown, which should not be there. That is why caution should be taken with the 121 dwellings counted in the 1860 census as being in San Marcos.¹⁹⁰

The contrast does not stop with the number of personal residences or inhabitants' priorities towards building the two towns. Town square styles differed between the two as New Braunfels's surveyor laid out a Philadelphia square and San Marcos, reflecting local residents southern cultural connections, used the Shelbyville form. The function of the two squares also varied as one refused to build a courthouse in the middle while the

¹⁸⁷ Terry G. Jordan, "Population Origins in Texas," *The Geographical Review* Vol. 59 No. 1, (1969), 101.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁸⁹ Population numbers and source regions are examined in Chapter Three.

¹⁹⁰ The Stringtown families are not reflected in this number.

other did. Priorities and culture are thus reflected through the names given to the squares and towns' use of their major focal points. New Braunfels even had an additional marketplace located near town's center. And, Lindheimer's botanical gardens added another different element to the town. River use in the two towns and the number of and location of various businesses will be covered in the next chapter, but it will be shown that early on there were differences here as well.

Growth after the Formative Years

German immigration to the Texas Hill Country slowed significantly during the Civil War and never recovered to the numbers seen prior to 1861. The decrease of people moving to New Braunfels showed up in the census years as population numbers stabilized. With fewer people moving to town, the demand for homes subsided. The 1870 census listed 421 dwellings and the 1880 count decreased to only 401 counted houses. The burst of initial growth and building activity finally slowed to a point where the town collectively could turn its energy and work with the buildings they already created. While growth held the line in New Braunfels, the same was not true for San Marcos.

In the years following the Civil War and during Reconstruction San Marcos's population did not grow. Slave owners needed time to recover from the loss of their property, their slaves and to readjust to a new economic system. The town finally moved beyond these hard years and by 1872 and 1873 for the first time population counts consistently moved forward. As a result of the population growth, the town reflected this change and grew in size, which is consistent to what Davies found in other Texas towns

during the same time.¹⁹¹ In term of homes, the 1870 census listed 128 dwellings. This numbers is close to the 1860 census, but it probably better reflects the actual number of homes in the town at that time. In 1868 the Methodist Church built the Coronal Institute, a private high school, which did attract some growth. By 1880 the census taker visited 229 dwellings in San Marcos, a hundred more houses than a decade before which was a dramatic change. This was the type of growth New Braunfels experienced in the first decades of their existence. San Marcos entered the building phase in their town's development.

New Braunfels – The Stabilizing Period

Davies' third stage in a town's cycle is the maturation, or stabilizing period.¹⁹² For fifteen years New Braunfels's citizens quickly pushed town boundaries in order to keep up with the population growth. The first time they could take a break from physical expansion was during the Civil War because essentially no German emigrants moved to the town. Likewise, during the war and immediately after, few people directed their thoughts towards town growth. There was no need to physically expand especially when the flow of new German emigrants failed to return to their prewar levels. In other words, the town could handle the arrivals in the space previously staked out. This breathing space allowed people to assess their town and make improvements. As economic prosperity returned, the energy necessary to make these changes could then be applied to the area. Finally, those individuals and families who stayed in New Braunfels now had equity in their homes and land they could pass on to second generation to carry the town

¹⁹¹ Davies, "Urban and Industrial Evolution of Texas," 481-484.

forward. Stabilization came to New Braunfels in the 1870s and continued on into the 1880s.

One key characteristic of the stabilizing period was in-filling. Prior undeveloped town land now had homes. For example, developers took the “Hill Property,” the land held by the Adelsverein for company use, and platted it for town lots. (Figure 4.8)¹⁹³ Six new city blocks came into existence as a result on the Society’s former property. New and extended streets such as Academy, Vine, Magazine, Commerce allowed movement through the area. As homes filled these lots, the adjacent 30 acre farm lot owned by Coll was the next piece to be made ready for development.¹⁹⁴ Two more blocks emerged with more streets: Washington, Santa Clara and Coll, the latter obviously named to honored the former landowner. Slowly the town crept to the southwest along land previously set aside in 1845 for farm lots. People who found success in farming pooled their savings along with money made from selling their farm lots and moved further out into Comal County, or to other areas. This enabled them to have larger farms than the ten acres originally given to them, and it allowed the town to grow without searching for new areas beyond the established borders. Both sides found an advantage in this type of growth, and ultimately it allowed the town to grow into itself.

¹⁹² Ibid., 492.

¹⁹³ “New Braunfels,” Map 2807-A, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin, Texas.

¹⁹⁴ Fey, *First Founders*, 152.

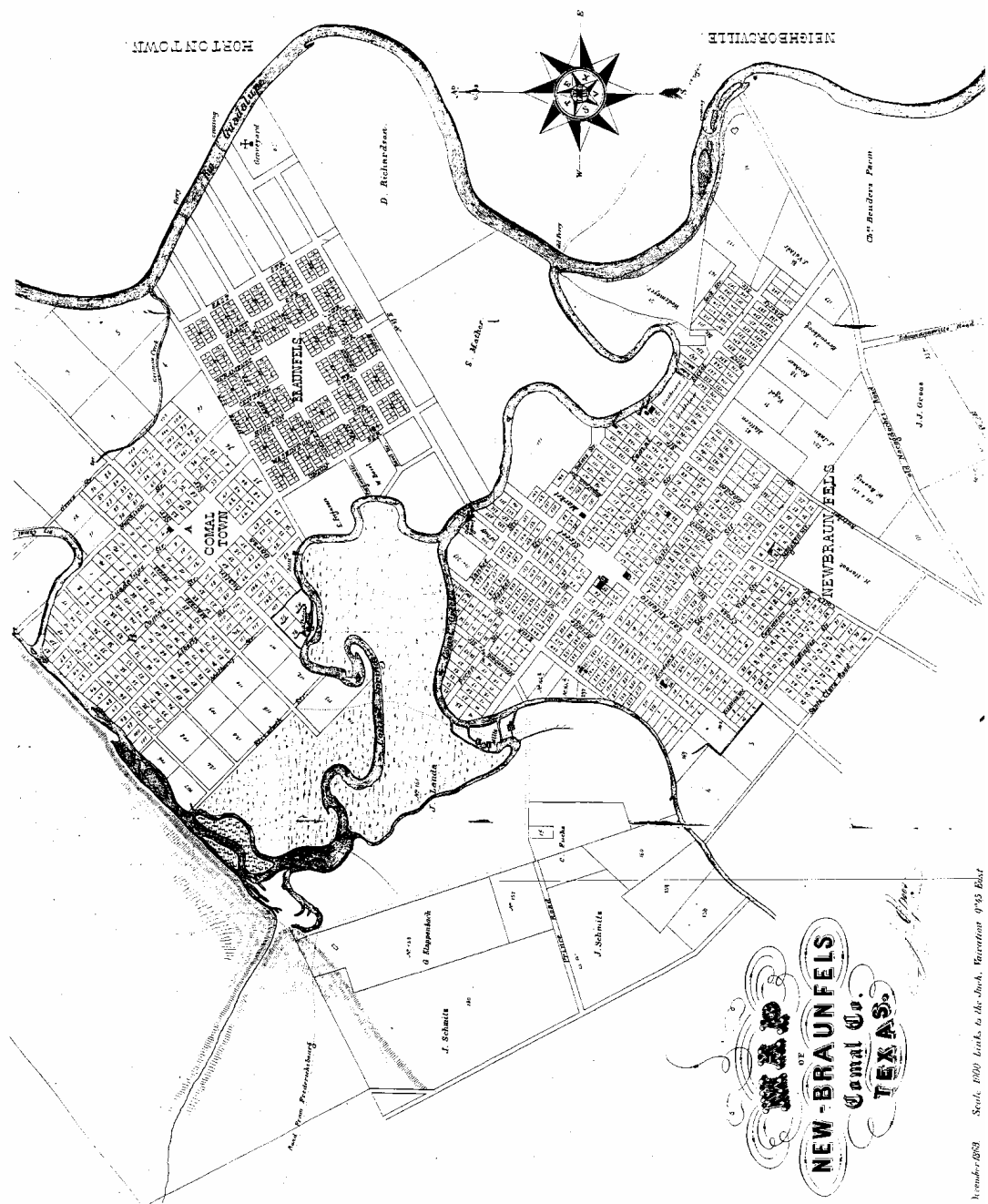


Figure 4.8 New Braunfels Map 1868

Another significant change during this time was the Joseph Landa acquisition of the William Merriwether property. Merriwether left New Braunfels and Texas altogether on the eve of the Civil War. Landa, a Prussian Jew by birth who came to New Braunfels in 1847, bought the land as well as the buildings in 1859 all valued at \$30,000 in 1860. He continued buying land along the Comal to the point where he owned virtually all the land and riparian rights along the river, a area valued at \$150,000 by 1870.¹⁹⁵ The Merriwether mills now became the Landa Mills with more businesses to come.¹⁹⁶ Landa rebuilt the mill after a flood tore the original one apart. On the site he operated the mill and other merchant operations until his death in 1896. Harry Landa, his son, would begin a major business expansion on the property that peaked by the end of the century. Landa Enterprises eventually included a cotton oil mill, electric light and power plant, grain elevator, ice factory, corn sheller, feedlots, thoroughbred cattle, irrigated truck farming, and for many residents his crowning achievement – Landa Park.¹⁹⁷ While most of this activity took place outside the scope of this study, it is important to note this because the burst of activity along the Comal would later help usher in New Braunfels's second growth spurt.

Sketches of New Braunfels

The number of Germans writing about New Braunfels dwindled after the first decade of the town's founding. The need for emigrant guides and travelogues decreased as the flow of emigrants became firmly established. As a result, the positive and glowing reports about Texas slowed as the Germans now living in New Braunfels were enough of

¹⁹⁵ U.S. Census 1860 and 1870, and Oscar Haas, *A History of New Braunfels*, 150.

a pull factor to get other people to come. Unfortunately with this decrease it is hard to get a German cultural perspective about the town. It is difficult to ascertain how much the original German element had changed since the first arrivals. Instead, written descriptions by non-German sources about the community serve as the best tool to determine how much German feel the town still displayed decades after its origins. A New York Tribune reporter, Mr. Smalley, journeyed to New Braunfels in 1879 after a San Antonio acquaintance told him it would be worth the trip “to see the oldest German settlement in the State.” He took the advice and submitted to the paper a record of his visit. His report offers the view and perspective of a first time visitor to the town, but also from one familiar with Germany, which was probably why his friend told him to make the visit. This individual had no motive for the visit other than to enjoy a day trip on the recommendation from someone who knew the area. As he approached New Braunfels he described the small “comfortable” farms with fields fenced in that bore “evidence of careful tillage.” Plump cattle and horses grazed in the fields. The houses, though small, looked “neat and comfortable.” In sum, he said he found little evidence of southern culture or even anything to remind him that he was in Texas except “save the occasional stretches of untilled land covered with mesquite.”¹⁹⁸

Once in town he spent time at a local tavern where the innkeepers told him the story of the town’s founding. He learned approximately 3,000 people lived there. Also, residents supported public schools where “English and German are taught,” and also a

¹⁹⁶ See Chapter 5 for more on Joseph Landa’s economic activities.

¹⁹⁷ Stark, *Oasis in Texas*, np.

¹⁹⁸ “A Texas Letter, Special Correspondent New York Trume” *West Texas Free Press* (14 June 1870) Pg. 1 Col. 3.

Lutheran and Catholic church, and a weekly newspaper. He credited isolation as the reason for the retention of many German customs such as German style dancing, music, and love of fun, fellowship, beer and wine. He said they lived the ideal, the “Gemuthliches Leben” [sic]. The way he described the cottages it was obvious the log cabins built those first years were gone and now replaced. Stucco and whitewash covered exterior walls on the houses set back a distance from the roads in order to make room for kitchen gardens in the front yards. Some of the larger homes with their fronts painted to look like marble reminded him of those he had seen in the “suburbs of South German cities.” His one suggestion and only complaint was for town officials to build sidewalks. He wrote how streets became impassable after rain moistened the soil into “black, sticky mud.”¹⁹⁹

A few years after Smalley’s report, Alex Sweet and J. Armoy Knox passed through New Braunfels. They, like others, detoured away from their travel itinerary to see this German town. Ten miles out the landscape changed. Neat farms, solid fences, and substantial houses met them along good roads. The two devised their own formula to determine whether or not a Texas farm was German or Anglo. When they,

saw a farm with good fences, gates that swung clear of the ground, unused agricultural implements under a shed, a well in the yard, fruit-trees and a vegetable-patch behind the house, stacks of winter feed in the lot, and the doors and window-shutters painted, evidently by local artists, in different colors of widely-contrasting gorgeousness, - verdict unanimous, ‘German.’

When [they] saw gates make tracks in the road when opened, or when the places where the gates should have been were filled with brush; when the owner was lying asleep on the gallery, with his head on a saddle, with five dogs around him, or going out

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 1, Col. 3.

and in through the chinks between the logs of which the walls of the house were built . . . verdict, without retiring, ‘Old Texan.’²⁰⁰

When they arrived in the town proper, orderliness and neatness again became a common theme in their writings. The first thing mentioned were the “business-houses all on one street.” One-story cottages dotted the area surrounded by flowers, shade trees and vegetable gardens. German signs referenced the businesses found inside various establishments in this “quiet, sleepy town.”²⁰¹ In the eyes of these visitors, there were many German elements still found on the visible urban landscape of New Braunfels.

San Marcos Begins to Develop

After the Civil War and Reconstruction, San Marcos began to finally move beyond the “hollow pioneer” stage in their development. Energetic people such as newspaper editor Isaac Julian began to promote San Marcos not just in the region, but beyond the state. Their efforts finally paid off as the town’s population slowly crept up in the early 1870s and then increased steadily through the 1880s. The incorporation of the town in 1873 also served to strengthen its attraction as a place to move to and settle. The community finally entered into their “building and developing” cycle and remained there through the end of the century.²⁰²

The need for space kept pace with the town’s growing population. The first set of town lots filled and citizens began to move onto farm lots converted over for residential use. As in New Braunfels, farmers sold their lots to make way for the growing town. In

²⁰⁰ Alex E. Sweet and J. Armoy Knox, *On A Mexican Mustang, through Texas, From the Gulf to the Rio Grande*, (Hartford: S. S. Scranton & Co., 1883), 392-393.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 393.

²⁰² Davies, “Urban and Industrial Evolution in Texas,” 492.

1868 the first to be transfigured were portions of farm lots 14 and 15, a little over 100 acres adjacent to town as drawn on the original town map. (Figure 4.9)²⁰³ San Antonio Street bordered these lots allowing access to an already existing road and the major thoroughfare through the area. Other streets, Belvin, Burleson, and Lindsey were added to allow access through the neighborhood. Methodist minister Robert Hixon Belvin acquired more land in the area in 1873 and added to the neighborhood. In the 1880s and through the turn of the century this area would also see the construction of majestic Victorian and Gothic homes reflecting the prosperity and growth of the town. Today this area is listed on the National Register of Historic Places known as the Belvin Street National Register District.²⁰⁴

The driving force behind the growth in that particular area was the Coronal Institute, a private high school. The Methodist church opened the school on the corner of Moore and Hutchison streets in 1868. Rev. Belvin bought the school in 1870 and moved his family into the house next to the school. Families from San Marcos and around the state sent their sons and daughters to the school. The school began to grow in physical size and in its reputation attracting more people. Belvin sold the two-story school to the Methodist church in 1875 and in the mid 1890s the growing student enrollment demanded adding separate dormitory rooms. Prosperous farms and ranchers built homes in town to be near the school. Their movement into town triggered others to do the same. In time as the sons and daughters of these families married, they sometimes built homes

²⁰³ "San Marcos, 1880," San Marcos Deed and Records, San Marcos Records Office, San Marcos, Texas.

²⁰⁴ Stovall, et al, *Clear Springs and Limestone Ledges*, 140-148.

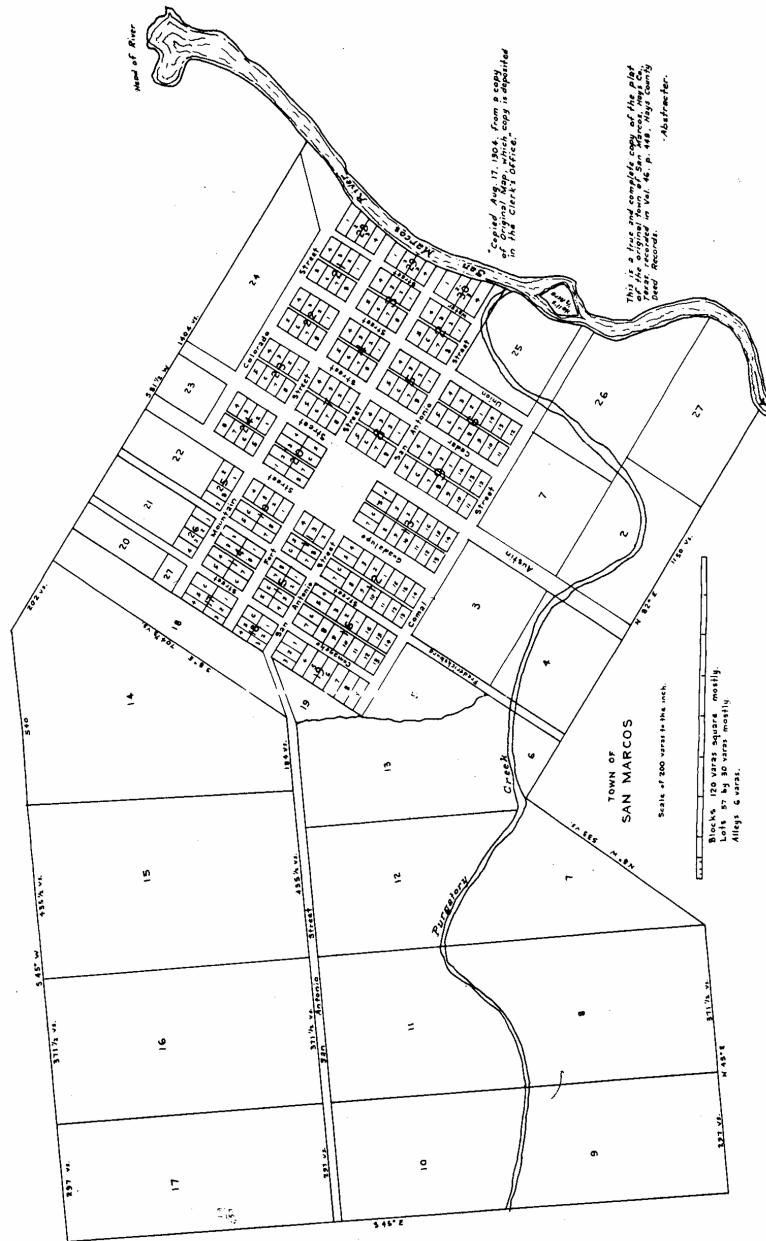


Figure 4.9 San Marcos City Map, Copy of Original Plat

next to their parents or near to them and a residential neighborhood came into existence.²⁰⁵ Thus, the Coronal Institute aided to the growth of San Marcos.

A Sketch of San Marcos

Writers and journalists heralded the progress of San Marcos as the village slowly became a town. “Perhaps there is no county or town in the State that has made greater advancements in the past few years than have Hays and the beautiful little town of San Marcos” started one 1875 newspaper article. An Austin Statesman writer bragged about the county’s population increase from 2,200 at the end of war to 8,000 a decade later. He described the transformation of San Marcos from a place “without life and grown up in weeds” to a community of 1,800 people living in “one of the most lively, prosperous and beautiful towns in the State.” He complimented the residents on constructing the new courthouse, the brick Methodist church and the Coronal Institute.²⁰⁶ Newspaper editor Isaac Julian continued the eulogy of the “thrifty, growing town with almost every branch of trade and industry represented.” Five churches and several private schools added to the other improvements helped him envision San Marcos “as a lovely country town” with a promising future.²⁰⁷

Conclusions

On the edge of the Balcones Escarpment New Braunfels and San Marcos came into existence. New Braunfels, the German town, grew rapidly as the result of the simultaneous arrival of thousands of German emigrants who needed a place to live.

²⁰⁵ Stovall, et. al., *Clear Springs and Limestone Ledges*, 148-154.

²⁰⁶ “Hays County and San Marcos,” Austin *Statesman* as reprinted in the *West Texas Free Press*, (6 March 1875), Page 1, Column 3.

²⁰⁷ Isaac Julian, “Hays County,” *West Texas Free Press*, (7 April 1877), Page 1, Col. 2.

Their arrival forced Adelsverein leaders into quick action and made urban planners out of a few. A southern Anglo town, San Marcos's origins lay in a speculative venture by several men whose first priority was to practice plantation agriculture. They did entice some of their fellow southerners to join them and attracted others through the selling of town lots. They came in smaller numbers and spread their arrival dates out which caused San Marcos to grow very slowly much like other towns in Texas.

However, because New Braunfels was a German town that quickly took shape it caught the attention of state residents and even by some beyond the borders. These emigrants created quite a stir in early Texas with their different town and different cultural ways. Growth continued well into the years after the Civil War, but it finally evened out to a pace the city leaders could better manage. Through it all there remained a German cultural stamp visible to those who spent time in the area and one that became even more noticeable when held against a more typical Texas town like San Marcos. San Marcos, on the other hand, did not really begin to grow until after the Civil War. It took a political, and in some ways, a cultural shake-up with the loss of slavery for this town to finally begin to grow. A shift in their economic focus helped to spur events that had already taken place decades before in their neighboring German community. As they both headed towards the closing decades of the nineteenth century the two towns remained morphologically different because of the people's cultural backgrounds, which caused varying urban development patterns.

Chapter Five

Shaping an Economic Culture along the Balcones

Introduction

Nineteenth century travel guide writers often commented on the industriousness and strong work ethic of the Texas Germans. Wherever they settled their reputation went with them. Hermann Seele towards the close of the 19th century wrote how the Texas Anglo business community respected and trusted German businessmen. Quality craftsmanship and manufacturing kept German workers busy because they were perceived by non-Germans to be reliable and loyal workers.²⁰⁸ The Germans of New Braunfels quickly justified that reputation, as many businesses and small industries were established within a few years. As people passed through the town and wrote about their impressions they always reflected this idea and spoke about the varied economic activities found there. They found a beehive of activity at the edge of a Texas wilderness.

A town's economy plays a significant role in determining its form and function. People who live and work in a town with an economy based on skilled trades, crafts, manufacturing and industry will build their homes close to their workplaces since most traveled by foot, horse or carriage. In return, business owners and skilled artisans will construct their workplaces where the workers and consumers live. This symbiotic relationship results in a centralized compact town. People will be drawn to the town for work as industries and job opportunities increase, which helps it to grow in size and

regional importance. Goods produced by these industries and people are then traded locally, and if there are sufficient roads and access to other nearby markets, trade is conducted beyond city center. These economic functions are vital to towns if they are going to sustain themselves and become prosperous.

In the American South towns and cities did not develop on the same scale as northern cities. Agricultural trade did not encourage urban development beyond centers used for trade and shipment of agriculture products, or those of financial or political importance. Cotton, sugar, wool and cattle were some of the more widely traded goods. When farmers wanted to sell their crops or animals most went to areas connected to coastal harbor towns. In Texas, Galveston and Houston served this function and grew in size throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.²⁰⁹ As railroads grew in importance, cities located along major railroads became a part of the trade route where farmers could sell their goods that were then shipped to other areas. Likewise, they could purchase needed supplies in these towns, which helped the town's economy. Other Texas towns located on inland trade routes grew in importance where oxcarts and wagons were used to haul goods across the state or into Mexico. San Antonio, a former northern outpost of New Spain and Mexico before Texas independence, grew in size and importance in the 1800s as a center for trade between Texas and Mexico.²¹⁰ As a result, Galveston, Houston and San Antonio, all major trade centers, were the largest cities in

²⁰⁸ Hermann Seele, *The Cypress and Other Writings of a German Pioneer in Texas*, Edward C. Breitenkamp, trans. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 35.

²⁰⁹ Susan Wiley Hardwick, *Mythic Galveston: Reinventing America's Third Coast*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 2002), 59-91.

Texas at the time when New Braunfels and San Marcos came into existence.²¹¹ As Austin grew in political strength and power, it also increased in size and became a more prominent Texas town. New Braunfels and San Marcos lay directly between San Antonio and Austin, and became connected to them on vital transportation and trade routes.

The founders of New Braunfels did not set out to create only an agricultural town. The town was to serve as a way station for German emigrants, but also as a trade center within Texas, between Texas and Mexico, and even between Texas, the United States and Germany.²¹² While farmers would be necessary to produce the foodstuffs for the people and animals living in the new colony, people with skills and occupations besides farming were also of vital importance. Colonizing with both these groups had a direct impact upon the morphology of New Braunfels. If the majority of colonists were farmers then there would be less need for a highly centralized town. Farmers would build their homes and farms on land away from city center. In this situation there would still be a town, but it would be hard to develop a thriving economic center to develop a town around. On the other hand, if the majority who came possessed skills in the various trades of the day their reliance would be much greater on a town or city. These people would want to live in town for everything they needed in order to have a comfortable life. This would best

²¹⁰ Jesus F. De La Teja, *San Antonio De Bexas: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1995), 157-160, and Kenneth W. Wheeler, *To Wear a City's Crown: The Beginnings of Urban Growth in Texas, 1836-1865*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1968), 104-115.

²¹¹ Austin does not grow in size until the late 1850s. In the early 1850s there were just under 1,000 residents in Austin. On the eve of civil war the town had grown to around 3,500 inhabitants. Wheeler, *To Wear A City's Crown*, 125.

²¹² Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, *The German In Texas: A Study in Immigration*, first published in 1910, (Austin,: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1974), 31-41, and Prince Karl-Solms Braunfels, "Sixth Report to

be found in an urban geographical setting. Furthermore, if the majority of a town's citizens were skilled workers, artisans, and other professionals and they were able to connect into the area's markets, the long-term outlook for community growth and prosperity would be bright.

Economic Structure of Early New Braunfels

The Germans who migrated and helped establish New Braunfels practiced a wide variety of trades. This is only logical as many of these individuals came from small villages and other urban centers in Germany. As previously stated, Germany was in the midst of industrialization when these people left. As machines of industry replaced the need for their manual labor, they found new outlets for their talents in New Braunfels. When the U.S. census manuscript records are thoroughly examined the variety of these skills is fully realized. By the time census takers took roll in 1850, New Braunfels had existed for four years. Thousands of Germans had passed through New Braunfels on their way to other German Texas settlements, and many stayed and used the skills they brought with them. Table 5.1 is an occupational summary of the people who gave a profession, occupation, or a trade to the 1850 census taker.

the Adelsverein Committee," 23rd December, 1844, Charles and Ethel Geue, trans., *A New Land Beckoned: German Immigration to Texas, 1844-1847*, (Waco: Texian Press, 1966), 48-51.

Table 5.1
List of Occupations and the number finding
Work in that Occupation, Free population over 15
New Braunfels, 1850

Occupation	Number working That occupation	Percentage of Population in said Occupation
<hr/> NEW BRAUNFELS		
<i>Agriculture</i> ²¹³		
Farmer	93	23.9%
Occupations with only one listing and each representing .2% of town's population: Gardener		
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Laborer	115	29.5%
Wagoneer	30	7.7
Carpenter	18	4.6
Blacksmith	8	2.1
Shoemaker	8	2.1
Wagonmaker	7	1.8
Butcher	5	1.3
Cabinet Maker	5	1.3
Saddler	5	1.3
Stone Mason	5	1.3
Baker	4	1.0%
Tailor	4	1.0
Turner	4	1.0
Brewer	3	.8
Brickmaker	3	.8
Cooper	3	.8
Gunsmith	3	.8
Clerk	2	.5
Watchmaker	2	.5

²¹³ The three major categories: Agriculture; Skilled, Artisan Work; Business, Trade Professional, and Government, Civil Service were created by the author. The first covers those individuals who worked directly with the soil or herded animals. The second includes those who learned a trade through an apprenticeship system, a family trade passed down from father to son, one that did not require a secondary education, and ones that required large amounts of physical or hands-on labor. The third category represents occupations that required a more formal education and those less physically demanding. The last category includes anyone working for a government agency or as a public servant.

Table 5.1 (cont.)
List of Occupations and the number finding
Work in that Occupation, Free population over 15
New Braunfels, Comaltown, Hortontown, 1850

Occupation	Number working That occupation	Percentage of Population in said Occupation
Occupations with only one listing and each representing .2% of town's population: Botanist, Needlemaker, Artist, Pipemaker, Knifemaker, Locksmith, Barber, Liquormaker, Stage Contractor, Bartender		
<i>Business, Trade, Professional</i>		
Merchant	16	4.1%
Storekeeper	6	1.5
Doctor	5	1.3
Hotelkeeper	3	.8
Lawyer	3	.8
Teacher	3	.8
Druggist	2	.5
Occupations with only one listing and each representing .2% of town's population: Preacher, Surveyor		
<i>Government, Civil Service</i>		
Constable	2	.5%
Occupations with only one listing and each representing .2% of town's population: District Clerk, County Clerk, City Treasurer, Tax Assessor/Collector, Justice of the Peace, Deputy, Sheriff, Ranging Service, Postman		

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas) , Reel 910, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population schedules for Comal County, 1850.

The above table only represents New Braunfels. The occupations for Comaltown workers were very similar to New Braunfels. Hortontown was slightly different in that more people listed farming as their occupation, but the number of non-agricultural occupations was still very high. The only category missing from these two “suburbs” was government workers. Since Comaltown and Hortontown never established their own political identity or incorporated as a separate town there was no need for city or county

officials. Listed in Table 5.2 is a complete summary of occupations for all three communities.

Table 5.2
Occupation Summary, Free Population over 15, Comal County, 1850

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group
<i>New Braunfels</i>		
Agricultural	95	24.4%
Skilled, Artisan Work	244	62.7%
Business, Trade, Professional	40	10.2%
Government, Civil Service	10	2.5%
<i>Comaltown</i>		
Agricultural	23	24.2%
Skilled, Artisan Work	67	70.5%
Business, Trade, Professional	5	5.3%
<i>Hortontown</i>		
Agricultural	30	55.6%
Skilled, Artisan Work	22	40.7%
Business, Trade, Professional	2	3.7%
<i>New Braunfels, Comaltown, And Hortontown</i>		
<i>Grand Total</i>		
Agricultural	148	27.5%
Skilled, Artisan Work	333	61.9%
Business, Trade, Professional	47	8.7%
Government, Civil Service	10	1.9%

Economic Structure of Early San Marcos

As previously established, San Marcos residents migrated from various southern U.S. states. Slaves and cotton kept the south agricultural with little industrial development. As southerners poured into Texas they brought this economic system with

them, so it seems only natural that agricultural occupations would reign supreme in San Marcos. Sixty-nine people listed an occupation in the 1850 Hays County census. Forty three of that number, or 62.3%, told the census taker that farming was their trade.²¹⁴ Outside of farming, there were only four other occupations that more than one person claimed as their line of work. Those were four laborers, three carpenters, three shinglemakers, and two blacksmiths; occupations extremely important in building a community, but few in number. Single occupation holders were: ranging service, botanist, wagonmaker, wainwright, domestic workers, clerk, trader, tailor, teacher, Methodist minister, surveyor, hotelkeeper, doctor, and store owner.²¹⁵ Viktor Bracht verified the existence of these few people actively engaged in occupations other than agriculture. When he passed through the town in 1848 he recorded the presence of two hotels, one store and even a schoolhouse. He did write that there were other buildings under construction as well.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ While only 69 people gave an occupation, it is important to remember that there were 128 slaves living and working in and around San Marcos who were not able to list their occupation. The same is true for New Braunfels and Comal County.

²¹⁵ Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The numbers listed represent a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules of Hays County, 1850.

²¹⁶ Viktor Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, First published in 1931, Charles Frank Schmidt, trans. (German-Texan Heritage Society, 1991), 97.

Table 5.3
Occupation Summary²¹⁷
Free Population over 15, Hays County, 1850

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group
<i>In and Around San Marcos</i>		
Agricultural	44	63.8%
Skilled, Artisan Work	19	27.5%
Business, Trade, Professional	6	8.7%

Table 5.3 above shows the impact and importance of considering source areas and the culture that people bring with them when they migrate to new areas. What is even more telling is when the numbers for New Braunfels and San Marcos are compared to each other. Again making reference to the overall purpose of this research project, to consider cultural influences in community building when the communities are in identical physical settings, the evidence presented in the Table 5.4 shows a stark cultural contrast between the two groups.

Table 5.4
Occupation Summary
Free Population over 15, New Braunfels and San Marcos, 1850

Occupation Group	Percentage working in group in Comal County	Percentage working in group in Hays County
Agricultural	27.5%	63.8%
Skilled, Artisan Work	61.9%	27.5%
Business, Trade, Professional	8.7%	8.7%
Government, Civil Service	1.9%	0.0%

²¹⁷ For a complete breakdown of occupations from 1850 through 1880 see Appendix B.

Several things in this table stand out when the percentage of agricultural workers in New Braunfels is compared to the percentage of skilled, artisan workers in San Marcos and the percentage of skilled and artisans in New Braunfels is compared to the percentage of agricultural workers in San Marcos. These numbers are almost exact opposites of each other!

The ability to examine census data taken at a time when New Braunfels is not yet five years old and San Marcos is at the beginning stage of formation allows a snapshot situation to gather the cultural pulse of two communities as they are born. The Germans in New Braunfels have not had time to assimilate into U.S. southern folkways and this shows in the occupation summaries with fewer farmers.²¹⁸ In San Marcos the U.S. southerners left Georgia, Arkansas, and Tennessee or the other southern states as farmers and became farmers in their new setting. Thus, the fact that the Germans left an industrialized Germany is reflected in New Braunfels's occupations, and the fact that U.S. southerners left an agricultural society is reflected in San Marcos occupations. Last, it needs to be noted that there are no government or city officials for San Marcos because the town was still in the formative stages and had not incorporated yet.

Economic Cultural Factors in New Braunfels for 1860

A community can change significantly within ten years. As people come and go, a town's culture will change accordingly. Occupation numbers from the 1860 U.S.

²¹⁸ It needs to be acknowledged that while the percentage of those engaged in farming remained small when compared to the other categories, the occupation still employed the most people in town. Also, many New Braunfels's citizens farmed on a subsistence level planting gardens and other crops on their town lot and on their ten-acre farm lot outside of town. These people did not list themselves as farmers for an occupation since these personal farms were to produce what was needed for the family.

census again can be used to get the economic cultural imprint for New Braunfels and San Marcos. Then they can be compared to those of the 1850 census to see if job occupational patterns changed over the decade. Things to look for in the comparison would be to see if the artisan and skilled occupational trends established in the New Braunfels 1850 census continued, or had some assimilation taken place into the more dominant agricultural economic system of the U.S. south. If the number of farmers significantly increased, one explanation could be that assimilation into the larger southern economy certainly occurred in the growing community. If they had not increased, one explanation could be that the Germans maintained their connections to the industrial skills and other trades learned in their homeland before their migration to Texas. Another reason could be that the inflow of German migrants, who were trained in urban and industrial trades, continued into the New Braunfels area throughout the 1850s, keeping the number of people who declared work in the nonagricultural sectors higher than the agricultural sector.

One thing that did change from 1850 to 1860 was a larger work force. In 1850 there were 391 individuals who claimed an occupation other than housekeeping, and by 1860 the number increased to 448 people. Ninety-three people listed farming as their line of work in the earlier census and ten years later the number increased only by two farmers. The overall percentage of farmers in relation to the rest of the workers declined from 23.9% in 1850 to 21.2% in 1860. In the nonagricultural sector there were a couple of noteworthy changes. In the first New Braunfels census there were 29 different job occupations in the skilled, unskilled and artisan trades. Ten years later that number grew

to 46 listings, which meant there was a wider variety of services available to the people living and working there.²¹⁹ The business and professional occupations also changed. The number of merchants expanded from 16 to 24. This meant more stores and shopping opportunities for New Braunfels consumers. There were also two more teachers, two more ministers, two more druggists, and new positions added such as a midwife and a newspaper editor. These positions certainly enhanced the quality of life for the townspeople.

The economic diversity begun with the town's founding was firmly established fifteen years later. Various people traveling through New Braunfels noted the economic activity. Naturalist Ferdinand Roemer in 1846 noted several businesses in the community barely a year old. He remarked that saloons did a brisk business with the chief one being located on the town square. Nearby were two other buildings of significant size. One was a general store and the other was a combined hotel, tavern and store. Some of the items available for purchase besides food were "clothing articles, shoes, saddles and harness[es], cotton and silk goods, implements of all kinds and a host of articles classed under the name of fancy hardware."²²⁰ Roemer seemed surprised to find these "achievements of civilization" which provided for him a "remarkable contrast between rough primitiveness and the marks of a thousand year old civilization."²²¹ Another German traveler, Wilhelm Steinert, spent time in New Braunfels in 1849 and was less enthusiastic about the town's economic situation. His writing confirmed the

²¹⁹ See Appendix B for the results of the 1860 U.S. census manual handcount for occupations in New Braunfels.

²²⁰ Ferdinand Roemer, *Roemer's Texas*, (San Antonio: Standard Printing Company, 1935), 96-97.

²²¹ Roemer, 97.

1850 census report in the variety of trades. He mentioned blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, saddlemakers, butchers, bakers and so forth. However, he notes that one saddlemaker moved away because he could not make a living. Besides the occupations required in building a community such as carpenters and stonemasons that would do well anyway, it seemed to him that merchants and tavern keepers found more success in their trade than others.²²² Steinert's unenthusiastic report came at the same time the Adelsverein declared bankruptcy. The financial collapse hurt New Braunfels as several merchants relied on the Adelsverein to purchase supplies from them for the people such as daily food rations, farm and building implements. These businessmen lost a ready market when the Society folded. Steinert noted that the "handsome incomes" made by merchants at the town's founding no longer existed when he was there in 1849. In fact he stated that the colony had lost money, and that the promising markets for New Braunfels had existed only when "officeholders of the Society still frequented the place." After their departure most traders bypassed the town and took their offerings to San Antonio. He did provide one glimmering hope for the future when he noted how in "America changes come quickly. A single road or street can bring about a significant change overnight."²²³ So, for him, there was the chance that New Braunfels would be able to establish again their lost markets.

Economic conditions did improve and markets were re-established in New Braunfels after Steinert's visit in 1849. Frederick Law Olmsted passed through New

²²² Wilhelm Steinert, *North America, Particularly Texas in the Year 1849: A Travel Account*, Originally published in Germany, 1850, Trans. Gilbert J. Jordan, Ed. Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, (Dallas: DeGolyer Library & William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, SMU, 1999), 59.

²²³ Ibid., 60-61.

Braunfels in 1855 and noted several industries and other general improvements. He commented that a significant number of people were engaged in agriculture. At the same time, though, he found something promising in the four grist mills in full operation, the sash and blind factory in the process of being built, and the coming of a future cotton factory to be owned by “a couple of New England men.”²²⁴ The men he referred to were the Torrey brothers, specifically John, a leading industrialist in New Braunfels. Born in Connecticut, he first came to Texas in 1838 to Houston, but after helping the Adelsverein move the German emigrants to New Braunfels he and his brother stayed and quickly established several businesses. Torrey fully utilized the water power from the Comal river for his grist and saw mill built in 1848. It was at this site that he established the sash and blind factory mentioned by Olmsted. Torrey continued his industrialist ways and built that cotton textile factory in 1863, but it was destroyed by a tornado in 1869. On the same site he built again, but this time it was a combination of a flour, grist and sawmill. Unfortunately a flood destroyed this business in the summer of 1872.²²⁵

Olmsted was impressed enough about the industry he found in New Braunfels that he wrote how there was not another town “in the slave states in which the proportion to the whole population of mechanics, or of persons employed in the exercise of their own discretion in productive occupations, is one-quarter as large as in New Braunfels, unless it be some other in which the Germans are the predominating race.”²²⁶ A writer for Austin’s Texas State Gazette concurred with the idea when he noticed how different the

²²⁴ Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey through Texas: Or, a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier*, First published in 1857, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 178.

²²⁵ Oscar Haas, *History of New Braunfels and Comal County, 1844-1946* (Austin: The SteckCo., 1968), 140-142 and Comal County Deeds, Vol. E, 766.

culture was for Texas German communities and wrote that wherever they were found in large number “the country around them look[ed] more thriving and flourishing.” This person welcomed German migration writing “so we say again let them come, there is room enough, and they will be made welcome.”²²⁷ Travel and newspaper accounts thus give an eyewitness perspective that census data can only enhance. Listed in Table 5.5 is the occupation summary for New Braunfels in 1860 as found in the U.S. Census, which corresponds to what these travelers observed and wrote about in their journals. Census numbers show there were three times as many people engaged in work outside of farming. In the skilled and artisan category, wagoner came in with the most listings while the largest in the business and professional category was merchants with 24 engaged in this line of work. These two occupations, one involved in the transporting of goods from one market center to another, and the other engaged in the selling of commercial goods indicates that New Braunfels had fully recovered from the small setback earlier described by Steinert.

Table 5.5
Occupation Summary
Free Population over 15, New Braunfels, 1860

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group
Agricultural	112	25.0%
Unskilled, Skilled, Artisan Work	269	60.0%
Business, Trade, Professional	48	12.5%
Government, Civil Service	11	2.5%

²²⁶ Olmsted, *Journey through Texas*, 178.

²²⁷ *Texas State Gazette*, Austin, 30 June 1855, as quoted in Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas*, 67

If so many people in New Braunfels were not farming, where were the farmers? Census data revealed they were outside the city of New Braunfels in places such as Hortontown, Schumannsville, and other cluster communities that had developed around New Braunfels in much the same way they had developed around San Marcos (see Table 5.6). Many of the people living there were former New Braunfels citizens who had moved onto lands just outside of town and Comaltown. Others were those who built homes on their ten-acre farm lots given to the original founders by the Adelsverein, and focused instead on being full time farmers. They found it easier to live on their farm lots instead traveling back and forth from their home in town to tend to their fields.

As these families moved out they put their town lots up for sale, which allowed spaces for new immigrants to set up house, or opportunities for current residents to buy these lots to either expand their living space, or rent the land to others.²²⁸ This would explain why Olmsted found very few original settlers left in New Braunfels when he visited the town and instead found them occupied by the more recently arrived German immigrants. The former group, he reported, had earned enough money “during their residence [in town] to enable them to buy farms or cattle-ranches in the mountains, to where they have removed.”²²⁹

²²⁸ Comal County Deed Records contain numerous accounts of families selling their ten-acre lots to other German families. Evidence of their moving away from town comes from Census records where families found in the 1850 counts are gone by 1860.

²²⁹ Olmsted, *Journey Through Texas*, 177.

Table 5.6
Occupation Summary
Free Population over 15, Outside New Braunfels, 1860

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population Occupation Group
Agricultural	439	75.8%
Skilled, Unskilled, Artisan	133	23.0%
Business and Professional	7	1.2%

The continuous acquisition of land and larger land purchases away from the heavy urban development in New Braunfels allowed for farming to gain momentum there. Letters and other promotional material sent to Germany described the fertility of the land and the great variety of crops. This literature prompted others to come to Texas and farm. Since there were no more available farm lots in New Braunfels they would have to settle outside the town. This would account for the larger numbers found there.²³⁰

Overall the population of New Braunfels continued to grow throughout the 1850s. Population growth fueled economic growth, which continued to shape the town itself. Instead of becoming just an agricultural service community, New Braunfels and its immediate area was shaping itself as both an agricultural and industrial town. Local residents used the land to grow crops and raise animals and also used it for other economic ventures. This time period also saw the utilization of the Comal River in powering grist mills, saw mills, and there were individuals who saw greater potential for the river's water power envisioning textile factories along the river's banks. On the eve of civil war the Texas Almanac reported that New Braunfels had a flour mill, four grist

mills, two saw mills, and a sash factory. All of these were powered by river water. So was the Comal Cotton Manufacturing Company, which opened along the Comal River in 1863 employing both Germans and after the Civil War even employed a few African Americans. Between 1865 and 1867 the company produced “160,000 yards of domestics, 35,000 Osnaburgs, and 35,000 pounds of yarn.” The publication declared New Braunfels the first manufacturing town in Texas.²³¹ The vision of Roemer seeing businesses along the Comal River at every spring taking advantage of the river’s power had come true.²³²

San Marcos Economic Activity 1860

Economic activity for San Marcos remained steeped in the southern plantation agricultural system with the majority of people finding work as farmers with the aid of slave labor. Most slaveowners and the majority farmers, 94 in fact, lived outside the town on dispersed settlements. Travelers passing through San Marcos commented on the development of the surrounding area with houses spaced about a mile apart from each other. They also noted slaves working on the farms with quite a few of the farmers growing cotton.²³³ In town, the 1860 census recorded 86 farmers and 29 men raising or trading stock. Interestingly, the number of farmers who lived in town exactly doubled

²³⁰ See Appendix B for a complete listing of occupations.

²³¹ Benjamin, *Germans in Texas*, 70.

²³² Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas, with Particular Reference to German Immigration and the Physical Appearance of the Country*, Oswald Mueller, trans. (San Antonio: Standard Printing Co., 1935) , 109.

²³³ Steinert, *Texas in 1849*, 92 and Olmsted, *Journey Through Texas*, 137.

from the 1850 census. The increase for stock raisers is also impressive. There was only one person raising livestock in 1850 and a decade later there were 29 cattle ranchers.²³⁴

Overall, San Marcos experienced an increase in economic activity that would be expected in any growing county seat community. Beyond the agricultural realm there were seven more skilled and unskilled workers and nineteen more in business and professional trades than a decade before. Specifically, there were five more teachers, two more general laborers and an additional carpenter. Twelve merchants opened businesses where none existed before and two lawyers were now available for legal services. Some new listings with at least one person finding work in that occupation were stonemason, teamster, well digger, realtor, tavernkeeper and a dentist. Also, by 1860 San Marcos had its first civil service occupations with a Texas Ranger and a sheriff.²³⁵ These occupations demonstrate that San Marcos was taking shape as an urban setting and was well on its way. Below in Table 5.7 is a complete occupation summary for those individuals living in or dependent upon San Marcos.

Table 5.7
Occupation Summary
Free Population, San Marcos, 1860

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group
Agricultural	117	68.8%
Unskilled, Skilled, Artisan Work	26	15.3%
Business, Professional	25	14.7%
Government, Civil Service	2	1.2%

²³⁴ 1860 Census for Hays County, U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States (Texas).

²³⁵ Ibid., and for a complete listing of occupations for San Marcos see Appendix B.

The number and percentage of agricultural occupations increased from the previous decade from 44 listings, representing 64 % of total workers to 117, or 69% of the entire working population. The growth in agriculture overshadows the growth in the other categories. When looking at the numbers for the other groups and when these are compared to those of the previous census, the growth in the more urban occupations is impressive. In 1850 there were only 25 people listing occupations most often found in urban settings and a decade later that number had increased to 51. These are the type of jobs needed if San Marcos residents planned for their town to grow in size and population. Nevertheless, the above table depicts the trends of other southern agricultural towns and when the German community of New Braunfels is compared to San Marcos, once again this German town reveals itself as a very different place for central Texas.

Table 5.8
Occupations Category Comparison
Between New Braunfels and San Marcos
Free Population, 1860

Occupation Group	Percentage working in group in and around New Braunfels (%)	Percentage working in group in and around San Marcos (%)
Agricultural	25.0	68.8
Skilled, Artisan	60.0	15.3
Business, Trade, and Professional	12.5	14.7
Government, Civil Service	2.5	1.2

Table 5.8 compares the two communities on the eve of Civil War. New Braunfels had fewer farmers and ranchers than San Marcos and more skilled workers and in various

trades and businesses. Over the course of ten years, New Braunfels experienced a small downward trend in the number of people engaged in agriculture and even a small drop in the overall percentage of those working in the skilled trades and crafts. The area that demonstrated a difference was the business and more professional categories. As well there was a small gain in civil workers to coincide with the town's growth. It seems that many workers still practiced the skills brought with them from Germany, which kept the agricultural numbers low. San Marcos, on the other hand, saw an increase in the number of farmers and ranchers from the previous decade to parallel the increase in southerners who had moved into the area.

Economic Culture of Post Bellum New Braunfels

New Braunfels managed to get through the 1860s and Civil War with few economic problems. Since the Germans and Texas Germans living there did not rely directly on slavery or its agricultural system, economic reconstruction was not a factor for them. The thriving business community they created before the war was intact after. In fact, New Braunfels experienced a small industrial boom starting in the late 1860s, which continued through the 1870s. Two of the more prominent industries were the Landa mills, and the woolen factory. As previously discussed Joseph Landa, patriarch to one of the leading German industrialist families in New Braunfels, bought William Merriwether's property after he left New Braunfels in 1860. On this site along the Guadalupe River he took over the grist and saw mill, made improvements and hired employees to help in daily operations. In 1875 he added a flour mill. Unlike Merriwether, Landa saw the Comal River and the springs as a great source of energy to

be utilized to a greater extent. Landa started buying land adjacent to his property and along the Comal as well as the Guadalupe River. He also bought the riparian rights. By 1890 he amassed a 5,000 acre plot of land running the length of two miles along the Comal and Guadalupe.²³⁶ The woolen factory opened in Dr. Theodore Koester's converted brandy distillery during the civil war. First operated to provide wool cloth to make uniforms for Confederate soldiers, the factory later supplied wool cloth to other outfitters, one being Texas A & M. In 1869 it turned out "forty pairs of blankets and two hundred yards of tweeds or yards a day."²³⁷ The factory provided many jobs for local residents throughout the 1870s and 1880s.²³⁸

Other successful businesses and industry included cotton gins and cotton trading. Farmers grew cotton starting in the 1850s and it became a side cash crop for many of them. The plaza became a center for cotton trading at this time and continued through the rest of the century. Farmers, wagoners and teamsters gathered at the center of town on a regular basis for the cotton market. On the plaza prices were discussed and sometimes argued over before the cotton was sold and sent on its way to San Antonio or Mexico. Cotton gins soon dotted the county and one located in New Braunfels advertised in the local newspaper they could bale cotton at reasonable rates. Another mill then rendered oil from cotton seed to make cotton seed meal cakes used to feed cattle. There were also breweries, taverns, tanners, blacksmith shops, a sash factory, numerous

²³⁶ Henry Stark, *The Oasis of Texas*, (New Braunfels: The Landa Estate, 1902) n.p.

²³⁷ Benjamin, 70.

²³⁸ Haas, *History of New Braunfels*, 148, and Rosemarie Leissner Gregory and Myra Lee Adams Goff, *New Braunfels, Comal County, Texas: A Pictorial History*, (Virginia Beach: The Donning Co., 1993), 59.

mercantiles, and even a brickyard.²³⁹ Census occupation lists attest to the growing economic diversity found in New Braunfels. (See Table 5.9)

Table 5.9
Occupation Summary
All those listing an occupation, New Braunfels, 1870

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
Agricultural	194	30.7
Skilled, Artisan Work	370	58.5
Business, Professional	63	10.0
Government, Civil Service	5	.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 9th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the population schedules.

The dominant occupations found in the first decades of New Braunfels's existence were still there. Basic services required to help a town thrive and grow did not diminish, and in some cases there were more people than ever before providing these services. Individuals finding work as carpenters, masons, furniture makers, tailors, shoemakers, and so forth were now found in abundance by this time. Manufacturing also grew stronger in New Braunfels as a result of industrious men like Landa and Koester. The largest employer at this time was Koester, owner of the woolen mill with 24 employees in 1870. A decade later there were 30 employees. Alex E. Sweet in 1883

²³⁹ Haas, 145-152, 187.

commented that he believed it was the only woolen factory in the state, and “probably the only one in the South.”²⁴⁰

At this time in town there were 84 “establishments employing two hundred and two hands. There were two steam engines and seven water wheels in the town.” The town also supplied the entire surrounding area with all needed wagons and carriages. It was also reported that in 1876 New Braunfels annually produced some 4,000 to 6,000 saddletrees. Only Austin and Galveston had industry at this level.²⁴¹ These two cities had much larger populations, so this makes it all the more impressive what the residents in New Braunfels were able to accomplish. The large number of saddles, wagons, and other wares mentioned above were made by two wagon makers, eight saddlers, twelve saddletree makers and seven in apprenticeship who were listed in the 1870 census. Ten years later there were fourteen people making saddles and another fourteen making saddletrees. Other multiple staffed positions in 1870, but not a complete list, were four brickyard employees, seven gristmill workers, three saw mill workers, three cotton merchants, two cotton yard workers, and a cotton trader. Many of these same positions were listed in 1880 along with new ones. Landa’s flour mill that he built in 1875 listed four employees five years later. Growth and industry continued to be the theme in the 1880 U.S. Census as shown in Table 5.10.

²⁴⁰ Alex E. Sweet and J. Armoy Knox, *On a Mexican Mustang, through Texas, From the Gulf to the Rio Grande*, (Hartford: S.S. Scranton & Co., 1883), 396.

²⁴¹ Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas*, 71.

Table 5.10
Occupation Summary
All those listing an occupation, New Braunfels, 1880

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
Agricultural	185	33.6
Skilled, Artisan Work	370	57.2
Business, Professional	63	10.0
Government, Civil Service	5	.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 9th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the population schedules.

Another economic cultural trait connected with Germans was the apprenticeship system and the hiring of young men and women as domestic servants. The practice of hiring out daughters and sons to work in other households was a common practice in nineteenth century Germany. For example, almost half of the young women in many Central European towns and cities in the mid-nineteenth century served as domestic servants.²⁴² The Germans in New Braunfels brought this cultural tradition with them. There were 17 German female domestic servants and six German male domestic servants in 1860. Thirty-one young German women worked in that position in 1870, a significant increase from the earlier count while the number of German male domestic servants remained unchanged. This system continued through the timeframe of this study with 18 female domestic listings and 11 male in 1880. All these individuals also lived in the house where they worked. The Germans preferred hiring other Germans instead of using slave labor (prior to the civil war) or hiring African-Americans or other non-Germans.

As well, the hiring of Germans to work in German households only helped to keep German culture alive within New Braunfels as employers passed German household customs on to the young people working and living with them.

Apprenticeship was a common European practice at the time the Germans came to Texas. Experienced craftsmen passed on their trade to young boys as they lived and worked in the houses of their teachers. The artisan gained the use of an extra set of hands around the shop, saved money from not having to hire a worker, and the young boy learned a trade that would serve him the rest of his working life. In the postcolonial United States the custom tended to be found where European ethnic groups were found in large numbers. The Germans brought the system with them to New Braunfels where it thrived for several generations before dying out. Like the domestic servants, those serving in an apprenticeship had their German culture reinforced through this system. Apprenticeships in New Braunfels were set up starting in the 1850s and seemed to peak in the 1870s. For example there were eleven in service in 1860 learning trades as saddlers, merchants, printing and apothecary. By the 1870s there were 27 young men learning skills in these same areas but also as tinfounders, blacksmiths, joiners, saddletree makers, and one even studying with the local newspaper publisher.²⁴³ The apprenticeship system slowly began to fade as New Braunfels turned more to manufacturing in the 1880s. Instead of young boys learning a trade as an apprentice, a position that usually paid little if anything at all, they went to work in one of the many local industries.

²⁴² Lauren Kattner, "Growing Up Female in New Braunfels," *Journal of American Ethnic History* Vol 9, No 2, (Spring 1990), 56.

²⁴³ U.S. Census Manuscript Schedules, Population Schedules of the 8th and 9th Census of the United States (Texas).

Hiring young men and women to work as domestic servants or using apprentices served as one reason why Germans in New Braunfels never relied much on slave labor before the Civil War. This also helped explain the small number of slaves in the census counts. For the slaves who were in Comal County, after the war most of the men found work as field workers and only two had their own farms. While some women found work doing laundry, none worked as domestic servants in New Braunfels in 1870, which was an occupation that many former slave women went into after emancipation. Things had not changed much a decade later. Most black men found work as laborers and there were a few women working as laundresses. The few Mexican Americans that were in New Braunfels during these decades found work on area farms.

German industriousness helped New Braunfels, and it certainly caught the attention of others in the surrounding area. The San Marcos newspaper often wrote about the Germans of New Braunfels and their prosperity. They noted how German culture elucidated this prosperity. In an 1877 article promoting San Marcos and Hays County, under the section detailing adjoining counties it described how New Braunfels was the “cent[er] of a large and flourishing German community, the busy seat of trade, manufacture and industry.”²⁴⁴ A correspondent to the New York Tribune pointed out the special nature of the German culture he encountered in 1879 while visiting San Marcos and New Braunfels. He said many things about both communities, but in regards to the New Braunfels’ economy and “the sturdy mechanics and farmers” who first came and helped build the town that “they and their descendents” prospered so much that they now

²⁴⁴ Isaac Julian, editor “Hays County” *West Texas Free Press* (7 April 1877) 1, Col. 2.

occupied the whole county. He further remarked how “their wealth is proverbial in Western Texas. It is said that there is more gold and silver hid in old stockings in Comal county than can be found in the vaults of all the banks in San Antonio.”²⁴⁵ Edward King, another traveler to Texas and New Braunfels stated that the town was as wealthy and prosperous as any town in the Middle States.²⁴⁶ Finally, Sweet echoed these sentiments as he witnessed the harnessing of the Comal River for power to drive the various towns’ industries. He felt that with all the wool and cotton found in the surrounding areas, only the “industrious and hard-working” people of New Braunfels could convert these raw materials into finished products for sell and profit. With time he predicted the town would be a “manufacturing city.”²⁴⁷

Economic Culture of Post Bellum San Marcos

The years following civil war were ones of transition for San Marcos. Like many towns throughout the south, people focused on shifting their economy away from plantation agriculture. Towns in Texas began to finally grow in population with significant developments between the 1870 and 1880.²⁴⁸ San Marcos was no different. Town leaders began to promote the community in the hopes to attract settlers and their efforts were rewarded. But, in order for the town to sustain the growth, its economy had to expand and provide sufficient opportunities for its citizens to earn a decent wage. The

²⁴⁵ “A Texas Letter, Special Correspondent, *New York Tribune*,” *West Texas Free Press* (14 June 1879) 1 Col 3.

²⁴⁶ Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas*, 64.

²⁴⁷ Sweet, *On a Mexican Mustang*, 396.

²⁴⁸ Christopher S. Davies, “Life at the Edge: Urban and Industrial Evolution of Texas, Frontier Wilderness – Frontier Space,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Vol. 89, 1986), 479-484.

promotion worked as jobs increased alongside a larger population with the biggest gains made throughout the 1870s. (See Table 5.11)

Table 5.11
Occupation Summary
All those listing an occupation, San Marcos, 1870

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
Agricultural	129	50.4
Skilled, Artisan Work	83	32.4
Business, Professional	39	15.2
Government, Civil Service	5	2.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 9th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the population schedules.

One of the biggest changes in post bellum San Marcos was the rise in the non-agricultural business sectors. Where there were only 48 people working in a crafts industry of skilled and unskilled labor in 1860, ten years later there were 83. Almost one-third of the employed in San Marcos were in this category. When the more highly skilled professions were added the percentage jumped to 48% of the working townspeople. New businesses and services sprang up to support a growing community. By 1870 there were three physicians, three butchers, two tanners, two grocers, a miller, milliner, stonemason, baker, wheelwright, cabinetmaker, shoemaker, druggist and a newspaper editor. Other established fields grew as well. There were five more merchants, four more saddlers, three more attorneys, two more preachers, two more hotelkeepers, and another carpenter and dentist.

When it was time for the 1880 counting, census takers recorded numbers that revealed a town very much changed since the war. (Table 5.12).

Table 5.12
Occupation Summary
All those listing an occupation, San Marcos, 1880

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
Agricultural	52	13.1
Skilled, Artisan Work	255	64.2
Business, Professional	76	19.2
Government, Civil Service	14	3.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 9th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the population schedules.

Striking changes took place as shown in the first two categories. There was a significant drop in the agricultural sector, and extremely so when compared to the antebellum years. Several factors could explain this change. One was that people engaged in farming moved further away from town as it grew, or to either live closer to their farm or on the farm itself. Second, as San Marcos grew in physical size it was easier to move farming away from city center and farmers bought land further away from town and moved out there to the newer farm. Third, town boundaries more clearly defined by this point allowed census takers to distinguish who lived in town. Since farming was difficult so close to a town, census takers did a better job in their recordings. Or, finally, farming may have lost some of its hold in the area and people found ways to earn a living besides agriculture.

The other change, and one that would have a bigger impact on the town itself, was in the second category, skilled, unskilled and artisan work as shown in Table 5.12. This

category tripled in size over the last 10 years to where 67 % of workers in San Marcos filled these positions. Some of the occupations that saw the largest increase were store clerks, carpenters, and stonemasons. The list of work fields to first appear on the census grew as well. Barbers, printers, brickmaker, jeweler, photographer, lumber and furniture dealer, and even a cigar maker made the list for the first time. Businesses less dependent on crafts and skills grew as well. There were more merchants, teachers, lawyers, and physicians than before. New fields sprang up here such as banker, music teacher, art teacher, civil engineer, surveyor, and even a telegraph operator. Finally, since the town's incorporation, the field of government workers also grew.

Prior to the Civil War slavery firmly existed in San Marcos and Hays County. As shown in the previous chapter, the African-American population in San Marcos continued their presence while the Mexican-American population remained relatively small. The few Mexican-Americans in San Marcos worked in the agricultural sector throughout the years following the war through to 1880. The African-American male population worked primarily as farm laborers with a little over 60% in that position by 1870. There were a few who found work away from agriculture such as a butcher, mill hand, stonemason, and even a state policeman, but percentage wise their number was small. Domestic service was the second largest field with 20 female domestic servants and seven male. Ten years later most of the men still found work as laborers, but more women worked by 1880. There were 27 laundresses, 14 domestic servants, seven cooks and two enlisted specifically for childcare. As in the decade before, a few found work outside these areas. There were four freighters, two carpenters, a butcher, millworker and

a brickyard worker. However, there were two positions new this time that directly served the black community in San Marcos. There were two ministers and a schoolteacher made the list this time around.²⁴⁹

German and Anglo Comparisons – Post Bellum New Braunfels and San Marcos

New Braunfels experienced few changes within their manufacturing economy after the Civil War. As one magazine recognized the town as the first manufacturing town in Texas, all the above numbers only serve to reinforce the belief that Germans were a very industrious group. San Marcos made efforts to improve their local industries, but efforts proved slow in the beginning. It was not until well into the 1870s that San Marcos began to make its transition away from an agricultural community. A comparison of Table 5.13 and 5.14 shows this change.

Table 5.13
Comparison of Occupational Categories
New Braunfels and San Marcos, 1870

Occupation Group	Percentage working In group in New Braunfels (%)	Percentage working In group in San Marcos (%)
Agricultural	30.7	50.4
Unskilled, Skilled, Artisan Work	58.5	32.4
Business, Professional	10.0	15.2
Government, Civil Service	.8	2.0

New Braunfels kept a solid manufacturing economic base through the years after the war; however, where before agriculture had played a small role in the town's economy, the percentage of farmers increased. As Table 5.13 shows a little over 30% of those listing an occupation claimed to be either a farmer, rancher, or shepherd. This was

²⁴⁹ U.S. Census, Federal Manuscript schedules of the 9th and 10th Census, Comal and Hays Counties, Texas.

a five percent jump from the previous census in 1860. And in the 1880 percentages there was another increase in those occupations.

Table 5.14
Comparison of Occupational Categories
New Braunfels and San Marcos, 1880

Occupation Group	Percentage working In group in New Braunfels (%)	Percentage working In group in San Marcos (%)
Agricultural	33.6	13.1
Unskilled, Skilled, Artisan Work	57.2	64.2
Business, Professional	7.4	19.2
Government, Civil Service	1.8	3.5

Agricultural occupations slowly inched up after the Civil War in one town, while they drastically fell in the other. Both towns showed their first signs of change as they moved towards economic sectors that before they had resisted. After 35 years, New Braunfels transferred the cultural power of one generation to another, and this second generation showed their first signs of acceptance of the host culture. San Marcos's economy began to vary after the U.S. Civil War and took a dramatic turn after the town's incorporation in 1877. This town realized that if they were to survive they needed to diversify their economy in order to compete with other growing Texas towns.

Summary

As Prince Carl Solms of Braunfels received the first colonists in what would become New Braunfels, he reported to the Adelsverein committee that field plots had

been “staked out and the plow [was] turning.”²⁵⁰ The German colonists wasted no time in building a community and getting to work. In the span of a few years businesses dotted the downtown square and along the Comal and Guadalupe Rivers. Their industriousness and work ethic caught the attention of many who passed through and they heaped accolades on New Braunfels’s citizens for their efforts. People as far away as New York read about the people and the accomplishments of this German Texas town.

San Marcos began its existence as many other southern towns did in the mid-nineteenth century with a small population and an economy based on agriculture. So much focus and energy was placed on agriculture that it did not leave room for industry to develop. The people here found success following this structure and there was no need for them to change. It would take a war to get San Marcos to alter their economic structure, and still it was slow in coming. One northern traveler expressed his frustration with the town in 1879 and this slowness as demonstrated with their lack of use of the San Marcos river. He wrote that “if the racing, rapid river that rushes out of the beautiful lake were in New England it would turn hundreds of busy wheels, but it is in the South, and does no work but furnish power to one ugly little grist mill.”²⁵¹

Culture played a role in these two towns and the economies they developed along the way. It is not that one is better than the other; it is just that they are different and culture plays the role to explain these differences. One group came from an industrial society where farming was conducted on a small scale. The other came from a southern

²⁵⁰ Prince Carl Solms Braunsfels, “Tenth Report to the Adelsverein Committee” 27 March 1845, Geue, *A New Land Beckoned*, 66.

²⁵¹ “A Texas Letter – Special Correspondent *New York Tribune*,” author unknown, *West Texas Free Press*, (14 June 1879), 1, Col. 5.

tradition steeped in a plantation system that used slave labor. As the two groups shaped their settlements along the Balcones Escarpment, they transferred a bit of their homeland's economic culture onto the soil they now lived on. With time both communities adjusted in ways they felt necessary in order for their towns to survive. Even these decisions were based upon their culture; however, by this point enough time had passed to cause cultural modifications for both groups. The people of New Braunfels slowly embraced southern ways and began to farm on a larger scale. San Marcos received more skilled workers and businesses. By 1880 both places looked eagerly forward to the future as the railroad was about to come to both towns. Businessmen, farmers, and others anxiously awaited the changes that lay in store. The new form of transportation promised drastic economic changes as new markets opened for both buyers and sellers of goods. As markets opened up and brought new business opportunities, new ideas would also come with the railroad to these two towns that up to that point had remained isolated. The changes seen up to this point would be small in comparison to what awaited them. Until then, New Braunfels and San Marcos remained as they were, two places shaping their economies in their own way.

Chapter Six Conclusions

The physical location of two Texas towns allow for a “laboratory-type” setting to study the role of culture in their development and offers a wonderful opportunity for a cultural geographical study. For New Braunfels the culture and perceptions brought by the Germans helped create a thriving community within a short time. The constant state of German demographic dominance helped the town to maintain certain German cultural traits such as language, architecture, and so forth. Then, as New Braunfels gained dominance as the major German-Texas community in the region, it only solidified the German element within the town. This allowed the group to be more selective in their acculturation process into American society.

On maps the town looked like other small Texas communities. However, there were morphological differences within the community. As previously noted, the Germans in New Braunfels built a square without a courthouse and the townspeople used the square more for market activities and public gatherings. City business and legal hearings took place in a courthouse that moved its location around town before a permanent location was decided upon at a later date. It would not be until 1898 that a courthouse became a part of the downtown landscape. Farm lots located on the edge of town developed as locals went back and forth to their lots as needed to work the crops. These people preferred to live in town instead of building on their farm lots. The quick development of businesses both in the town and along the river also served as an

incentive to keep people in town. Thus, where other Texas towns at this time were sparsely settled and had little urban development, New Braunfels became a highly centralized community.

The speed at which New Braunfels developed and grew was one hallmark that set it apart from other Texas cities. As previously discussed, geographer Christopher S. Davies in his writings found a four step process with the development of Texas cities. The “hollow pioneer” stage starts the cycle, which moves to the “building” phase and on into the “mature” period to conclude with the “degenerate” cycle.²⁵² New Braunfels bypassed the pioneer stage and went straight into the building cycle. This discovery as a result of the study warrants more research to be done with other immigrant communities and towns where non-Anglos have a majority status. It needs to be seen if what happened in New Braunfels is an anomaly. If there are other places where this happened, then another model depicting a city’s growth cycle needs to be developed separate from Davies’s cycle. A growth cycle for immigrant towns would be created to go along with this earlier model. Texas contains many other immigrant communities, so there is much work to be done.

Another way New Braunfels set itself apart from other towns could be seen through the writings of those who lived there or traveled through the town. These sketches noted the elements that made it a different place. This is even more noticeable when the writers were Anglo and especially so when they came from an area outside the South. There is an obvious difference between the views of an insider and those of an

outsider. One theme consistent through the writings of outsiders, even though they came at different times and from different places, was they all picked up on the same cultural themes. They noted hearing the German language, building signs written in German, gardens in the front of German-style cottages, and roads clearly distinguishable from the neatly fenced off fields and front yards. Of those writers intimately familiar with Germany they always noted that upon entering New Braunfels they felt transported back to the Old Country. People made these comments because the town was so different from anything they had seen in Texas, and it was different because the culture was different.

Economically, from the beginning of New Braunfels farming played a secondary role to crafts and small industry. There was no German cultural precedent for large-scale agriculture, so when these people arrived subsistence farming was what they did best. Likewise, when the large land grant in west Texas fell through, the people in New Braunfels had to continue to farm on their small lots originally given to them by the Adelsverein. Those who desired to shift to large scale farming as practiced by Anglos did so after their financial situation improved to where they could buy larger tracts of land farther away from town.

Because these people moved on and did not stay in New Braunfels, the town kept its shape and maintained its original purpose – to be a town that fostered small business and entrepreneurship. This environment attracted other non-German people to move to the area to try their hand at various businesses. Several New Englanders opened up

²⁵² Christopher Shane Davies, “Life at the Edge: Urban and Industrial Evolution of Texas, Frontier

various businesses and a few, such as the Torrey brothers, even found wealth and prosperity. What was even more unusual was how the southerner, William Merriwether, combined the use of slaves, a southern institution, with innovative business ideas such as the creating of the mill race to find financial success with his mills. With him the culmination of several cultural practices converge: a southerner borrowing heavily on water power, a source used extensively in northern manufacturing, to open a series of mills built with the hands of slaves to benefit a German community. Then, upon his retirement from the area he sold his land to Landa, a German, who took the property and created one of the more successful industrial enterprises in the region by the turn of the century.

These events are only seen for their cultural uniqueness when compared to an Anglo town representing the regional and more dominant culture. When New Braunfels is held up to San Marcos then it can be seen what these Germans did in the formative years along the Balcones differed from other Anglo towns. What needs to be done is to take this study and test the findings against other German Texas towns, or even against large German neighborhoods such as the ones in San Antonio and Galveston, to see if the same things happened there. If there is a consistency in the findings then these patterns reveal larger cultural forces at work and more investigation needs to be done and new models developed to explain and identify these patterns.

San Marcos, on the other hand, fell into accordance with other geographers' findings. It followed the typical pattern that Davies found of slow development prior to

the 1870s with population and economic growth coming towards the end of the 1870s and on into the 1880s. The shift from plantation agriculture to a more diversified economy played a role in this change. Where before agriculture dominated the area, which kept any urban growth to a minimum, more businesses took root attracting people with a trade or skill because they could now find work there. What is interesting to note is that as the Anglo town expanded, the German community experienced equability for the first time. The two towns reversed patterns. The number of farmers steadily increased in the New Braunfels area through the 1870s and 1880s as more and more Germans realized more money could be made through farming. There were those who relied less on the skills brought with them from Germany and more on those that flourished in this region of Texas. So where before bookbinders, watchmakers, artists and other highly skilled trades showed upon on census records, they slowly diminished as people abandoned these less profitable industries to take up new and more lucrative ones, or they simply just moved away to find prosperity elsewhere. Thus it was here that the first clear signs of assimilation appeared in this German-Texas town and this trend did not show any signs of slowing down at the end of the nineteenth century.

While this work focused on the perceptions, demographics, morphological and economic development of the two communities, there are many other additional areas not covered in the scope of this study to be explored. One question raised and needs to be examined is what difference did it make that not all the emigrants from Germany came from the same area? While Germany was the source region for New Braunfels, these people came from many different places in Germany. Regional differences existed in

nineteenth century Germany and these caused tensions among Germans. It did make a difference if one was from Prussia, Nassau, Bavaria, Saxony or the many other German provinces. Regional prejudices existed between these people and when they first arrived in Texas they were forced to deal with these issues in a ways they never had to before. Some early writings by these people contain these prejudices, but by the end of the century they virtually disappear as these they stopped seeing themselves as Prussians, Nassauns, Saxons, Bavarians, and so forth and more as German-Texans. Scholars such as Terry Jordan-Bychkov and Lauren Kattner addressed this issue, but more needs to be done in this area to assess the role it played in New Braunfels's development.

There were religious tensions as well. German Catholics and Lutherans had their suspicions of each other and when they came to Texas they certainly continued them. This is another cultural dynamic that needs to be explored to see how it was resolved. Further, as Methodism and the Baptist faith found their way to the area, a new religious element infiltrated into the picture to stir things up. Education and the role schools played is yet another element to be studied and put into an urban geographical context. New Braunfels had the first school taxes in the state. The German emigrants emphasized education and getting a school open and hiring a teacher was high on the city founders' list. What impact did this have upon the town, its culture, and its further development needs to be addressed. Finally, as the two towns ended the century bright futures were in store. The IG-N railroad came in 1880 and further connected the two communities to other areas. Research needs to be conducted to see how much an impact this had on the urban and cultural environment for the area.

Culture played a role in the development of New Braunfels and San Marcos. This study provides the groundwork for others to build upon. It will take more research and analysis through the current period to fully answer the questions laid out in the beginning of this paper. Once completed it might answer questions and provide a reason for comments still heard today about this German Texas town being “different.” It might shed light on why people still hold a fascination with German-Texans and the towns they created.

Appendix A
Census Data for New Braunfels and San Marcos
1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880

The tables below contain all data used for the demographic portion of the study (as taken from the U.S. Census Records)²⁵³. The tables separate out foreign-born residents from U.S. born then compares the two categories to the overall population of the town represented. The data is further divided between the adults and minors still using the foreign-born and U.S. born as a point of separation. The first two census presented came at a time when slavery still existed within the United States. Therefore, the data displayed only show the free population for New Braunfels and San Marcos. How many slaves found in each county appear in chapter three. The 1870 and 1880 numbers include the African-American population and appear in the subsequent tables.

The tables are included with this study to allow the reader to see the full demographic breakdown and the changes over time in the ethnic makeup of the study area. They allow the reader to fully understand the patterns of change and continuity during the morphological development of the two communities.

Foreign Born Adult and Head of Household Origins
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1850

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>German and other European ethnicity</i>			
Germany	688	93.1	92.8
Bohemia	1	.1	.1
Poland	1	.1	.1
<i>Non German Ethnicity</i>			
Scotland	2	.3	.3
Ireland	2	.3	.3
<i>Non European Foreign Birth</i>			
Mexico	1	.1	.1
	-----	-----	-----
Total foreign born	695	100.0	93.7

²⁵³ It needs to be noted that data from census records need to be approached cautiously as some records may be incomplete due to the census taker missing some people when the count was taken for that year.

U.S. Born Adult Head of Household Origins
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1850

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>Anglo Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	4	8.7	.5
Lower South			
Virginia	7	15.2	.9
Alabama	2	4.3	.3
North Carolina	2	4.3	.3
South Carolina	1	2.2	.1
Georgia	1	2.2	.1
Upper South			
Tennessee	5	10.9	.7
Arkansas	3	6.5	.4
Kentucky	1	2.2	.1
Missouri	1	2.2	.1
Midland			
New York	3	6.5	.4
Pennsylvania	2	4.3	.3
New Jersey	1	2.2	.1
New England			
Connecticut	8	17.4	1.1
New Hampshire	1	2.2	.1
Maine	1	2.2	.1
Middle West			
Indiana	2	4.3	.3
Illinois	1	2.2	.1
Total	46	100.0	6.2

Adult Population Totals by Ethnicity
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1850

Region	Number	As a percentage born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign country (%)	As a percentage of living in New Braunfels (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	690	-----	99.3	93.1
Scottish	2		.3	.3
Irish	2	-----	.3	.3
<i>Other Areas outside the U.S.</i>				
Mexican	1	-----	.1	.1
	-----		-----	-----
Total	870	-----	100.0	93.8
<i>United States</i>				
Anglo	46	100.0	-----	6.2
Broken down by regions:				
Texas	4	8.7	-----	.5
Lower South	13	28.3	-----	1.9
Upper South	10	21.7	-----	1.3
Midland	6	13.1	-----	.8
Middle West	3	6.5	-----	.4
New England	10	21.7	-----	1.3

Adult Population and Head of Household by Ethnicity, Summary
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1850

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in New Braunfels, Comal County, 1850 (%)
German	690	93.1
Other European	4	.5
Mexican	1	.1
Anglo	46	6.2

Foreign Born and U.S. Born Children and Minors Birth Origins
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1850

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of minor population in New Braunfels (%)
FOREIGN BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Germany	256	100.0	51.8
U.S. BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Texas ²⁵⁴	196	82.3	39.7
<i>Anglo America</i>			
Texas	30	12.6	6.1
Georgia	2	.8	.4
Louisiana	2	.8	.4
Arkansas	2	.8	.4
Ohio	2	.8	.4
Virginia	1	.4	.2
Mississippi	1	.4	.2
Indiana	1	.4	.2
Iowa	1	.4	.2
Total	238	100.0	48.2

²⁵⁴ These children are all born of German parents.

Foreign Born and U.S. born Adult and Head of Household Origins
Free Population, Comaltown, 1850

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in Comaltown (%)	As a percentage of entire population in Comaltown (%)
<hr/>			
FOREIGN BORN			
<i>German ethnicity</i>			
Germany	143	100.0	85.6
U.S. BORN			
<i>Anglo Ethnicity</i>			
Lower South			
North Carolina	6	25.0	3.6
Georgia	6	25.0	3.6
Alabama	1	4.2	.6
Virginia	1	4.2	.6
Upper South			
Arkansas	3	12.5	1.8
Tennessee	1	4.2	.6
Kentucky	1	4.2	.6
Missouri	1	4.2	.6
Midland			
Pennsylvania	1	4.2	.6
Middle West			
Illinois	2	8.3	1.2
Ohio	1	4.2	.6
	-----	-----	-----
Total	24	100.0	14.4
<hr/>			

Adult Population Totals by Ethnicity
Free Population, Comaltown, 1850

Region	Number	As a percentage born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign country (%)	As a percentage of all living in Comaltown (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	143	-----	100.0	85.6
<i>United States</i>				
Anglo	24	100.0	-----	14.4
Broken down by regions:				
Lower South	14	58.3	-----	8.4
Upper South	6	25.0	-----	3.6
Midland	1	4.2	-----	.6
Middle West	3	12.5	-----	1.8

Adult Population and Head of Household by Ethnicity, Summary
Free Population, Comaltown, 1850

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in Comaltown, Comal County, 1850 (%)
German	143	85.6
Anglo	24	14.5

Foreign Born and U.S. Born Children and Minors Birth Origins
Free Population, Comaltown, 1850

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in Comaltown (%)	As a percentage of minor population in Comaltown (%)
FOREIGN BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Germany	66	98.5	55.0
<i>Mexican Ethnicity</i>			
Mexico	1	1.5	.8
	-----	-----	-----
Total	67	100.0	55.8
 U.S. BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Texas ²⁵⁵	41	77.4	34.2
<i>Anglo America</i>			
Texas	6	11.3	3.3
Missouri	3	5.6	2.5
Louisiana	1	1.9	.8
Kentucky	1	1.9	.8
Iowa	1	1.9	.8
	-----	-----	-----
Total	53	100.0	44.2

²⁵⁵ These children are all born of German parents.

Foreign Born and U.S. Born Adult and Head of Household Origins
Free Population, Hortontown, 1850

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in Hortontown (%)	As a percentage of entire population in Hortontown (%)
<hr/>			
FOREIGN BORN			
<i>German ethnicity</i>			
Germany	81	97.6	85.3
<i>Non German ethnicity</i>			
Ireland	2	2.4	2.1
	-----	-----	-----
	83	100.0	87.4
U.S. BORN			
<i>Anglo Ethnicity</i>			
Lower South			
North Carolina	1	8.3	1.0
Alabama	1	8.3	1.0
Upper South			
Arkansas	1	8.3	1.0
Tennessee	1	8.3	1.0
Midland			
New York	1	8.3	1.0
New England			
Maine	2	16.7	2.1
Middle West			
Indiana	4	33.3	4.2
Illinois	1	8.3	1.0
	-----	-----	-----
Total	12	100.0	12.6
<hr/>			

Adult Population Totals by Ethnicity
Free Population, Hortontown, 1850

Region	Number	As a percentage born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign country (%)	As a percentage of all living in Hortontown (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	81	-----	97.6	85.3
Irish	2		2.4	2.1
	-----		-----	-----
	83		100.0	87.4
<i>United States</i>				
Anglo	12	100.0	-----	12.6
Broken down by regions:				
Lower South	2	16.7	-----	2.1
Upper South	2	16.7	-----	2.1
Midland	1	8.3	-----	1.0
New England	2	16.7	-----	2.1
Middle West	5	41.6	-----	5.3

Adult Population and Head of Household by Ethnicity, Summary
Free Population, Hortontown, 1850

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in Hortontown, Comal County, 1850 (%)
German	81	85.3
Irish	2	2.1
Anglo	12	12.6

Foreign Born and U.S. Born Children and Minors Birth Origins
Free Population, Hortontown, 1850

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in Hortontown (%)	As a percentage of minor population in Hortontown (%)
FOREIGN BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Germany	25	100.0	56.8
U.S. BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i> ²⁵⁶			
Texas	9	47.3	20.5
At Sea	1	5.3	2.3
<i>Anglo America</i>			
Texas	6	31.6	13.6
Indiana	2	10.5	4.5
Tennessee	1	5.3	2.3
Total	53	100.0	43.2

Population by Ethnicity, Summary

²⁵⁶ These children are born of German parents.

Free Population, Heads of Households and Adults, New Braunfels, Comaltown, and
Hortontown, 1850

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in entire New Braunfels area, 1850 (%)
German	914	91.1
Other European	6	.6
Mexican	1	.1
Anglo	82	8.2

Total Adults	1,003	

Population by Ethnicity, Summary
Free Population, Children and Minors, New Braunfels, Comaltown, Hortontown, 1850

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all minors and children living in entire New Braunfels area, 1850 (%)
German	347	52.7
German American	246	37.4
At Sea (German)	1	.2
	-----	-----
TOTALS	594	90.3
Mexican	1	.2
Anglo	63	9.5

TOTAL MINORS	658	

U.S. Born and Foreign Born Adult Population Origins
Free Population, San Marcos, 1850

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in San Marcos (%)	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos (%)
<hr/>			
U.S. BORN			
<i>Anglo Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	3	2.6	2.5
Lower South			
Georgia	26	22.8	21.6
Alabama	10	8.8	8.3
South Carolina	7	6.1	5.8
North Carolina	6	5.3	5.0
Mississippi	6	5.3	5.0
Virginia	4	3.5	3.3
Upper South			
Tennessee	28	24.6	23.3
Kentucky	8	7.0	6.6
Arkansas	5	4.4	4.2
Midland			
Pennsylvania	4	3.5	3.3
Ohio	3	2.6	2.5
New York	1	.9	.8
New England			
Connecticut	3	2.6	2.5
	-----	-----	-----
	114	100.0	95.0
 FOREIGN BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Germany	5	83.3	4.2
Poland	1	16.4	.8
	-----	-----	-----
	6	100.0	5.0
<hr/>			

Adult Population Totals by Ethnicity
Free Population, San Marcos, 1850

Region	Number	As a percentage born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign country (%)	As a percentage of all living in San Marcos (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	5	-----	83.3	4.2
Polish	1	-----	16.4	.8
	-----		-----	-----
Total	6	---	100.0	5.0
<i>United States</i>				
Anglo	114	100.0	-----	95.0
Broken down by regions:				
Lower South	59	36.0	-----	34.2
Upper South	41	36.0	-----	49.2
Midland	8	7.0	-----	6.7
New England	3	2.6	-----	2.5
Texas	3	2.6	-----	2.5

Total	120			

Adult Population by Ethnicity, Summary
Free Population, San Marcos, 1850

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in San Marcos, Hays County 1850 (%)
German	6	5.0
Anglo	114	95.0

U.S. Born and Foreign Born Children and Minors Birth Origins
Free Population, San Marcos, 1850

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in San Marcos (%)	As a percentage of minor population in San Marcos (%)
<hr/>			
U.S. BORN			
<i>Anglo American</i>			
Texas	75	54.0	51.7
Lower South			
Georgia	12	8.6	8.3
Mississippi	7	5.0	4.8
Alabama	5	3.6	3.4
Louisiana	1	.7	.7
North Carolina	1	.7	.7
Upper South			
Arkansas	19	13.7	13.1
Tennessee	8	5.7	5.5
Missouri	1	.7	.7
Midwest			
Indiana	4	2.9	2.7
New England			
Connecticut	6	4.3	4.1
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Germany	2	----	1.4
Texas ²⁵⁷	4	----	2.7
	-----	-----	-----
Total	145	95.8	100.0
<hr/>			

²⁵⁷ These children are born of German parents.

Adult Origin of Birth/Ethnicity Comparison
Free Population, New Braunfels and San Marcos, 1850

Origin/Ethnicity	As a percentage of All adults living in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of All adults living in San Marcos (%)
German	91.1	5.0
Other European	.6	---
Mexican	.1	---
U.S. Anglo	8.2	95.0

1860 Census New Braunfels and San Marcos

The 1860 U.S. Census for the free population of New Braunfels breaks down the German population by specific region of birth. This allows for a more detailed analysis of contributing source areas to the New Braunfels region. However, unlike the 1850 census that separates Comaltown from Hortontown, this accounting divided the population between those living inside and those outside the town. Careful attention was given to this census to make sure counts were as accurate as possible. The census for San Marcos changed little from the previous one.

The records also show continued growth for the two communities and very little change to patterns established earlier in the 1850 records. The most notable difference was the emergence of a large group of children born to German parents. This group is the first generation of German Texans.

There are no persons of African ancestry listed in the chart as slavery still existed in Texas. They were listed separately in the slave schedules and their population numbers are listed in Chapter Three.

Foreign Born Adult and Head of Household Origins
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1860

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>German ethnicity</i>			
Prussia	258	30.7	29.3
Hanover	166	19.7	18.9
Nassau	162	19.3	18.4
Brunswick	59	7.0	6.7
Hesse-Cassel	32	3.8	3.6
Hesse-Darmstadt	26	3.1	2.9
Bavaria	24	2.9	2.7
Württemberg	21	2.5	2.4
France	15	1.8	1.7
Baden	13	1.6	1.5
Austria	13	1.6	1.5
Saxony	9	1.1	1.0
Holstein	6	.7	.7
Saxe Weimer	6	.7	.7
Saxe Meiningen	6	.7	.7
Saxe Altenburg	5	.6	.6
Waldeck	5	.6	.6
Frankfort on the Main	2	.2	.2
Lippe Detmold	2	.2	.2
Anhalt Köthen	1	.1	.1
Holland	1	.1	.1
Hamburg	1	.1	.1
Schwarzburg	1	.1	.1
Mecklenburg Schwerin	1	.1	.1
Bremen	1	.1	.1
Denmark	1	.1	.1
<i>Non German Ethnicity</i>			
England	2	.2	.2
Scotland	1	.1	.1
Ireland	1	.1	.1
Total foreign born	841	100.0	95.2

U.S. Born Adult Head of Household Origins
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1860

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Texas ²⁵⁸	2	5.1	.2
<i>Anglo Ethnicity</i>			
Lower South			
Mississippi	3	7.7	.4
Virginia	2	5.1	.2
Louisiana	2	5.1	.2
North Carolina	2	5.1	.2
Alabama	1	2.6	.1
Upper South			
Kentucky	2	5.1	.2
Tennessee	1	2.6	.1
Missouri	1	2.6	.1
Midland			
New York	2	5.1	.2
Pennsylvania	1	2.6	.1
New England			
Massachusetts	8	20.5	.9
Connecticut	4	10.3	.5
Maine	3	7.7	.4
New Hampshire	2	5.1	.2
Rhode Island	1	2.6	.1
Middle West			
Ohio	2	5.1	.2
Total	39	100.0	4.4

²⁵⁸ These individuals are born of German parents.

Adult Population Totals by Ethnicity
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1860

Region	Number	As a percentage born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign country (%)	As a percentage of all living in New Braunfels (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	837	-----	99.5	95.3
English	2	-----	.2	.2
Scottish	1	-----	.1	.1
Irish	1	-----	.1	.1
	-----		-----	-----
Total	841	-----	100.0	95.7
<i>United States</i>				
German American	2	5.1	-----	.2
Anglo	37	94.9	-----	4.2
Broken down by regions:				
Lower South	10	25.6	-----	1.1
Upper South	4	10.3	-----	.5
Midland	3	7.7	-----	.3
Middle West	2	5.1	-----	.2
New England	18	46.2	-----	2.0

Adult Population and Head of Household by Ethnicity, Summary
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1860

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in New Braunfels, Comal County, 1850
German	839	95.3
Other European	4	.5
Anglo	37	4.2

Foreign Born and U.S. Born Children and Minors Birth Origins
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1860

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in New Braunfels	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels
FOREIGN BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Prussia	100	52.6	11.7
Nassau	31	16.3	3.6
Brunswick	13	6.8	1.5
Hanover	10	5.2	1.2
Hesse-Darmstadt	6	3.2	.7
Austria	6	3.2	.7
Hesse-Cassel	5	2.6	.6
Bavaria	4	2.1	.5
Württemberg	4	2.1	.5
Waldeck	3	1.6	.4
France ²⁵⁹	2	1.1	.2
Holstein	2	1.1	.2
Saxe-Altenburg	2	1.1	.2
Weimer	1	.5	.1
Saxe-Meiningen	1	.5	.1
	-----	-----	-----
	190	100.0%	22.2
U.S. BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	632	94.8	73.7
<i>Anglo America</i>			
Texas	15	2.3	1.8
Mississippi	7	1.1	.8
Louisiana	4	.6	.5
South Carolina	2	.3	.2
Alabama	2	.3	.2
Tennessee	2	.3	.2
Missouri	1	.1	.1
New York	1	.1	.1
Massachusetts	1	.1	.1
	-----	-----	-----
Total	667	100.0%	77.8%

²⁵⁹ German surname.

U.S. Born Adult Population Origins
Free Population, San Marcos, 1860

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in San Marcos	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos
<i>Anglo ethnicity</i>			
Texas	21	6.9	6.4
Lower South			
Alabama	47	15.5	14.3
Georgia	33	10.9	10.0
Virginia	18	5.9	5.5
Mississippi	17	5.6	5.2
South Carolina	7	2.3	2.1
North Carolina	7	2.3	2.1
Louisiana	3	1.0	.9
Maryland	2	.7	.6
Upper South			
Tennessee	63	20.8	19.2
Kentucky	30	9.9	9.1
Arkansas	21	6.9	6.4
Missouri	12	4.0	3.7
Midland			
Pennsylvania	3	1.0	.9
New England			
Massachusetts	3	1.0	.9
Vermont	1	.3	.3
Middle West			
Ohio	8	2.6	2.4
Illinois	5	1.7	1.5
Indiana	1	.3	.3
Iowa	1	.3	.3
	-----	-----	-----
	303	100.0%	92.4%

Foreign Born Adult Population Origins
Free Population, San Marcos, 1860

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in San Marcos	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos
Germany	12	48.0	3.7
Poland	4	16.0	1.2
France	2	8.0	.6
Scotland	2	8.0	.6
Denmark	1	4.0	.3
Norway	1	4.0	.3
England	1	4.0	.3
Ireland	1	4.0	.3
Mexico	1	4.0	.3
	-----	-----	-----
	25	100.0%	7.6%

Adult Population Totals by Ethnicity
Free Population, San Marcos, 1860

Region	Number	As a percentage born in the United States	As a percentage born in a foreign country (%)	As a percentage of all living in San Marcos (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	12	-----	48.0	3.7
Polish	4	-----	16.0	1.2
French	2	-----	8.0	.6
Scottish	2	-----	8.0	.6
Danish	1	-----	4.0	.3
Norwegian	1	-----	4.0	.3
English	1	-----	4.0	.3
Irish	1	-----	4.0	.3
<i>Outside Europe</i>				
Mexican	1	-----	4.0	.3
	-----		-----	-----
Total	25	---	100.0	7.6
<i>United States</i>				
Anglo	303	100.0	-----	92.4
Broken down by regions:				
Lower South	134	44.2	-----	40.9
Upper South	126	41.6	-----	38.4
Midland	3	1.0	-----	.9
New England	4	1.3	-----	1.2
Middle West	15	5.0	-----	4.6
Texas	21	6.9	-----	6.4

Total	328			

Adult Population by Ethnicity, Summary
Free Population, San Marcos, 1860

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in San Marcos, Hays County 1870 (%)
European	25	7.6
Anglo	303	92.4

U.S. Born and Foreign Born Children and Minors Birth Origins
Free Population, San Marcos, 1860

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in San Marcos (%)	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos (%)
<i>Anglo American</i>			
Texas	213	64.9	64.0
Lower South			
Mississippi	16	4.9	4.8
Louisiana	10	3.0	3.0
Alabama	7	2.1	2.1
Virginia	2	.6	.6
Georgia	2	.6	.6
Upper South			
Arkansas	18	5.5	5.4
Missouri	15	4.6	4.5
Tennessee	14	4.3	4.2
Kentucky	4	1.2	1.2
Midland			
Pennsylvania	1	.3	.4
Midwest			
Illinois	4	1.2	1.2
Indiana	2	.6	.6
Ohio	2	.6	.6
Michigan	2	.6	.6

U.S. Born and Foreign Born Children and Minors Birth Origins
Free Population, San Marcos, 1860 (cont.)

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in San Marcos (%)	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos (%)
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Germany	2	----	.6
Texas	12	3.6	3.7
<i>Polish Ethnicity</i>			
Poland	3	----	.9
Texas	4	1.2	1.2
	-----	-----	-----
Total	333	98.5%	100.0%

Adult Origin of Birth/Ethnicity Comparison
Free Population, New Braunfels and San Marcos, 1860

Origin/Ethnicity	As a percentage of All free adults living in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of All free adults living in San Marcos (%)
German	95.3	3.7
German American	.2	0.0
Other European	.4	3.6
Mexican	0.0	.3
Anglo	4.2	92.4

The 1870 Census

When scholars and researchers use the 1870 census they do so with caution. It is widely accepted that census takers in many areas severely undercounted southerners. These people resisted cooperating with U.S. federal employees so soon after the Civil War and resentment against Reconstruction policies only deepened the hostility towards these government workers. Caution is always urged when using the records; however, when the Comal County and Hays County tax rolls are compared to the census manuscripts it is surprising how accurate the 1870 counting was for the two towns. This is especially true for New Braunfels. There was very little difference between the census records and tax records for that time. San Marcos shows a slight undercounting, but not to the extent that it happened in some areas of the South.

The New Braunfels records continue to display the regional birth origin for the Germans, but not to the depth seen in the 1860 census. Also, there is no distinction between the population living in New Braunfels, Comaltown or Hortontown. Another important note about the 1870 census from prior ones is African Americans are enumerated for the first time as part of the larger population.

Foreign Born Adult and Head of Household Origins
New Braunfels, 1870

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Prussia	644	74.0	61.3
Brunswick	55	6.3	5.2
Württemberg	25	2.9	2.4
Bavaria	25	2.9	2.4
Hesse-Darmstadt	23	2.6	2.2
Saxony	17	2.0	1.6
Austria	16	1.8	1.5
Alsace	15	1.7	1.4
Baden	12	1.4	1.1
Switzerland	7	.8	.7
Lippe Detmold	3	.4	.2
Bohemia	2	.2	.2
Oldenburg	2	.2	.2
Holland	2	.2	.2
West Indies (German)	1	.1	.1
<i>Non German Ethnicity</i>			
England	7	.7	.7
France	3	.4	.2
Ireland	1	.1	.1
<i>Non European Foreign Birth</i>			
Mexico	10	1.1	1.0
Total foreign born	870	-----	82.7

U.S. Born Adult Head of Household Origins
New Braunfels, 1870

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	99	54.4	9.4
Louisiana	1	.5	.1
Illinois	1	.5	.1
	-----	-----	-----
Total	101	55.5	9.6
<i>Anglo Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	9	4.9	.9
Lower South			
Virginia	8	4.4	.8
Georgia	5	2.7	.5
Louisiana	1	.5	.1
South Carolina	1	.5	.1
Mississippi	1	.5	.1
Upper South			
Kentucky	2	1.1	.2
Tennessee	2	1.1	.2
Missouri	1	.5	.1
Maryland	1	.5	.1
Midland			
New York	2	1.1	.2
Pennsylvania	1	.5	.1
New England			
Connecticut	3	1.6	.3
Middle West			
Ohio	1	.5	.1
Indiana	1	.5	.1
	-----	-----	-----
Total	39	21.4	3.7

U.S. Born Adult and Head of Household Origins
New Braunfels, 1870

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>African American</i>			
Texas	3	1.6	.3
Lower South			
Louisiana	5	2.7	.5
North Carolina	5	2.7	.5
Mississippi	4	2.2	.4
Virginia	4	2.2	.4
Georgia	2	1.1	.2
South Carolina	1	.5	.1
Alabama	1	.5	.1
Upper South			
Tennessee	7	3.8	.7
Kentucky	3	1.6	.3
Arkansas	3	1.6	.3
Missouri	2	1.1	.2
Maryland	1	.5	.1
	-----	-----	-----
Total	42	23.1	4.0

Adult Population Totals by Ethnicity
New Braunfels, 1870

Region	Number	As a percentage born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign country (%)	As a percentage of all living in New Braunfels (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	849	-----	97.5	80.7
English	7	-----	.8	.7
French	3	-----	.3	.3
Irish	1	-----	.1	.1
<i>Other Areas outside the U.S.</i>				
Mexican	10	-----	1.1	.9
	-----		-----	-----
Total	870	---	---	82.7
<i>United States</i>				
Anglo	39	21.4	-----	3.7
Broken down by regions:				
Lower South	16	8.8	-----	1.5
Upper South	6	3.3	-----	.6
Midland	3	1.6	-----	.3
Middle West	2	1.1	-----	.2
New England	3	1.6	-----	.3
German Americans	101	55.5	-----	9.6
Broken down by regions:				
Texas	99	54.5	-----	9.4
Louisiana	1	.5	-----	.1
Illinois	1	.5	-----	.1

Adult Population Totals by Ethnicity
New Braunfels, 1870 (cont.)

Region	Number	As a percentage born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign country (%)	As a percentage of all living in New Braunfels (%)
African American	42	23.1	-----	4.0
Broken down by regions:				
Lower South	23	12.6	-----	2.2
Upper South	16	8.8	-----	1.5
Texas	3	1.6	-----	.3
	-----	-----		-----
Total	182	----	----	17.3

Adult Population and Head of Household by Ethnicity, Summary
New Braunfels, 1870

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in New Braunfels, Comal County, 1870 (%)
German	849	80.7
German American	101	9.6
Other European	11	1.1
Mexican	10	.9
Anglo	39	3.7
African American	42	4.0

Foreign Born and U.S. Born Children and Minors Birth Origins
New Braunfels, 1870

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of minor population in New Braunfels (%)
FOREIGN BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Prussia	71	73.2	5.9
Brunswick	18	18.6	1.5
Wurtemberg	1	1.0	.1
Saxony	1	1.0	.1
Austria	1	1.0	.1
Mexico	1	1.0	.1
<i>Mexican Ethnicity</i>			
Mexico	4	4.1	.3
U.S. BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i> ²⁶⁰			
Texas	1,028	92.7	85.2
Missouri	6	.5	.5
Louisiana	4	.3	.3
Virginia	1	.1	.1
<i>Anglo American</i>			
Texas	30	2.7	2.5
Virginia	3	.2	.2
Florida	3	.2	.2
Kentucky	1	.1	.1
Louisiana	1	.1	.1
<i>African American</i>			
Texas	23	2.1	1.9
Louisiana	2	.2	.2
Arkansas	2	.2	.2
South Carolina	1	.1	.1
Tennessee	1	.1	.1

²⁶⁰ The 1870 census marks the emergence of second generation German Texans as some of the minors are born of German Texas parents. However, there is still a significant portion of the group born of German parents.

Foreign Born and U.S. Born Children and Minors Birth Origins
New Braunfels, 1870 (cont.)

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of minor population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>Mexican American</i>			
Texas	3	.3	.3

TOTAL	1,206		

U.S. Born Adult Population Origins
San Marcos, 1870

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in San Marcos (%)	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos (%)
<i>Anglo Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	21	6.4	6.1
Lower South			
Alabama	30	9.1	8.6
Georgia	23	7.0	6.6
Mississippi	19	5.8	5.5
Virginia	14	4.3	4.0
North Carolina	9	2.7	2.6
South Carolina	7	2.1	2.0
Louisiana	6	1.8	1.7
Upper South			
Tennessee	32	9.7	9.2
Missouri	19	5.8	5.5
Kentucky	16	4.9	4.6
Arkansas	13	3.9	3.7
Midland			
Pennsylvania	4	1.2	1.1
New York	1	.3	.3
New England			
Maine	1	.3	.3
Middle West			
Illinois	3	.9	.8
Indiana	1	.3	.3
Iowa	1	.3	.3
Ohio	1	.3	.3
West			
Oregon	2	.6	.6
<i>African-American</i>			
Texas	15	4.6	4.3
Lower South			
Mississippi	19	5.8	5.5
North Carolina	9	2.7	2.6
Louisiana	9	2.7	2.6
Alabama	6	1.8	1.7
Georgia	6	1.8	1.7
Virginia	5	1.5	1.4
South Carolina	2	.6	.6

U.S. Born Adult Population Origins (cont.)
San Marcos, 1870

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in San Marcos (%)	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos (%)
Upper South			
Tennessee	12	3.6	3.4
Arkansas	8	2.4	2.3
Missouri	8	2.4	2.3
Kentucky	6	1.8	1.7
Maryland	1	.3	.3

Foreign Born Adult Population Origins
San Marcos, 1870

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in San Marcos (%)	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos (%)
<i>German ethnicity</i>			
Prussia	12	66.7	3.4
<i>Other European</i>			
Denmark	1	5.6	.3
Scotland	1	5.6	.3
<i>Mexican</i>			
Nuevo Leon	2	11.1	.6
Mexico (no state listed)	2	11.1	.6

Adult Population Totals by Ethnicity
San Marcos, 1870

Region	Number	As a percentage born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign country (%)	As a percentage of all living in San Marcos (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	12	-----	66.7	3.4
Danish	1	-----	5.6	.3
Scottish	1	-----	5.6	.3
<i>Other Areas outside the U.S.</i>				
Mexican	4	-----	22.2	1.2
	-----		-----	-----
Total	18	---	---	5.2
<i>United States</i>				
Anglo	223	67.8	-----	64.3
Broken down by regions:				
Lower South	108	32.8	-----	31.1
Upper South	80	24.3	-----	23.0
Midland	5	1.5	-----	1.4
Middle West	6	1.8	-----	1.7
New England	1	.3	-----	.3
West	2	.6	-----	.3
Texas	21	6.4	-----	6.1
African American	106	32.2	-----	30.5
Broken down by regions:				
Lower South	56	17.0	-----	16.1
Upper South	35	10.6	-----	10.1
Texas	15	4.6	-----	4.3

Total	329	----	----	94.8

Adult Population by Ethnicity, Summary
San Marcos, 1870

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in San Marcos, Hays County 1870 (%)
German	12	3.4
Other European	2	.6
Mexican	4	1.2
Anglo	223	64.3
African American	106	30.5

U.S. Born Children and Minors Birth Origins²⁶¹
San Marcos, 1870

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born minors in San Marcos (%)
<i>German Ethnicity</i>		
Texas	5	1.3
Missouri	1	.2
<i>Anglo American</i>		
Texas	182	46.4
Lower South		
Louisiana	19	4.8
Alabama	6	1.5
Mississippi	4	1.0
Virginia	3	.7
Upper South		
Arkansas	15	3.8
Missouri	13	3.3
Tennessee	9	2.3
Maryland	1	.2
<i>African American</i>		
Texas	115	29.3
Lower South		
Alabama	2	.5
Louisiana	1	.2
North Carolina	1	.2
Upper South		
Arkansas	12	3.1
Missouri	2	.5
Tennessee	1	.2
TOTAL	----- 392	

²⁶¹ There were no foreign births in this category.

Adult Origin of Birth/Ethnicity Comparison
New Braunfels and San Marcos, 1870

Origin/Ethnicity	As a percentage of All adults living in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of All adults living in San Marcos (%)
German	80.7	3.4
German American	9.6	-----
Other European	1.1	.6
Mexican	.9	1.2
Anglo	3.7	64.3
African American	4.0	30.5

1880 Census Population Source Regions

The 1880 census manuscripts schedules show the tremendous growth experienced within the study region. Clearly defined town boundaries for San Marcos allowed for a more accurate count. The New Braunfels enumeration once again showed a separation between the town and the outlying suburb of Comaltown. The last time the census counted Comaltown as a separate unit was in 1850. By including the full count here the reader can compare these numbers to the 1850 ones to see the changes since that time.

Another different aspect with this count is individuals listed identified the birthplace of his or her mother and father. This listing allows for a more accurate determination of the ethnicity of a growing second and third generation of Texans. This census also includes a growing third generation of German Texans in both communities.

Foreign Born Population Origins
Heads of Household and Adults in New Braunfels, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Prussia	405	77.3	53.8
Germany	37	7.1	4.9
Bavaria	18	3.4	2.4
Austria	13	2.5	1.7
Wurtemberg	16	3.1	2.1
Hesse-Darmstadt	11	2.1	1.5
Saxony (Saxonia)	6	1.1	.8
Baden	6	1.1	.8
Switzerland	5	1.0	.7
Oldenburg	3	.5	.4
Mecklenburg	1	.2	.1
<i>Non German Ethnicity</i>			
England	2	.4	.3
<i>Non European</i>			
Cuba (African)	1	.2	.1
Total	564	100.0	34.02

U.S. Born Population Origins
Heads of Households and Adults in New Braunfels, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	156	68.4	20.7
Maryland	1	.4	.1
Total	157	68.8	20.9

U.S. Born Population Origins (cont.)
Hheads of Households and Adults in New Braunfels, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<i>Anglo Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	12	5.2	1.6
Lower South			
Alabama	2	.9	.3
Virginia	2	.9	.3
Louisiana	2	.9	.3
Georgia	1	.4	.1
Upper South			
Tennessee	1	.4	.1
Kentucky	1	.4	.1
Midland			
New York	2	.9	.3
Pennsylvania	1	.4	.1
Middle West			
Ohio	1	.4	.1
	-----	-----	-----
Total	25	11.0	3.3
<i>African American</i>			
Texas	14	6.1	1.8
Lower South			
North Carolina	5	2.2	.7
Mississippi	4	1.7	.7
Virginia	2	.9	.3
Louisiana	2	.9	.3
Alabama	1	.4	.1
Upper South			
Tennessee	8	3.5	1.1
Kentucky	5	2.2	.7
Missouri	2	.9	.3
Arkansas	1	.4	.1
Middle West			
Ohio	1	.4	.1
	-----	-----	-----
Total	45	19.7	6.0

U.S. Born Population Origins (cont.)
Hheads of Households and Adults in New Braunfels, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of entire population in New Braunfels (%)
<hr/>			
<i>Mexican American</i>			
Texas	1	.4	.1
	-----	-----	-----
Total	228	100.0	30.3
Total Adult population of New Braunfels – 752			
<hr/>			

Foreign Born Population Origins
Hheads of Household and Adults in Comaltown, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in Comaltown (%)	As a percentage of entire population in Comaltown (%)
<hr/>			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Prussia	78	92.9	25.8
Austria	3	3.5	2.5
Hesse-Darmstadt	2	2.4	1.7
Mecklenburg	1	1.2	.8
	-----	-----	-----
Total	84	100.0	70.0

U.S. Born Population Origins
Heads of Household and Adults in Comaltown, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in Comaltown (%)	As a percentage of entire population in Comaltown (%)
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	31	86.1	25.8
<i>Anglo Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	1	2.8	.8
Lower South			
Louisiana	1	2.8	.8
<i>African American</i>			
Lower South			
Alabama	1	2.8	.8
Mississippi	1	2.8	.8
Upper South			
Tennessee	1	2.8	.8
	-----	-----	-----
	36	100.0%	30.0
Total population in Comaltown – 120			

Population Totals by Ethnicity
New Braunfels, 1880

Region	Number	As a percentage Born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign county (%)	As a percentage of all living in New Braunfels (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	521	-----	99.4	69.3
England	2	-----	.4	.3
<i>Other Areas outside the U.S.</i>				
Cuba (African)	1	-----	.2	.1
Total	524		----- 100.0	----- 69.7
<i>United States</i>				
German Americans	157	68.9	-----	20.9
Anglo Americans	25	11.0	-----	3.3
Broken down by regions:				
Texas	12	5.1	-----	1.6
Lower South	7	3.1	-----	.9
Upper South	2	.9	-----	.3
Midland	3	1.3	-----	.4
Middle West	1	.4	-----	.1
African Americans	45	19.7	-----	6.0
Broken down by regions:				
Texas	14	6.1	-----	1.8
Lower South	14	6.1	-----	1.8
Upper South	16	7.1	-----	2.1
Middle West	1	.4	-----	.1
Mexican-American Texas	1	.4	-----	.1
	----- 228			----- 30.3
Total	752			

Population Totals by Ethnicity
Comaltown, 1880

Region	Number	As a percentage Born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign county (%)	As a percentage of all living in Comaltown (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	84	-----	100	70.0
<i>United States</i>				
German Americans	31	86.1	-----	25.8
Anglo Americans	2	5.6	-----	1.7
Broken down by regions:				
Texas	1	2.8	-----	.8
Lower South	1	2.8	-----	.8
African Americans	3	8.4	-----	2.5
Broken down by regions:				
Lower South	2	5.6	-----	1.7
Upper South	1	2.8	-----	.8
Total	120			

Population by Ethnicity, Summary
Heads of Households and Adults in New Braunfels, 1880

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in New Braunfels, Comal County, 1880 (%)
German	521	69.3
German American	157	20.9
	-----	-----
	678	90.2

Other European	2	.3

Anglo	25	3.3

African American	45	6.0
African Cuban	1	.1
	-----	-----
	46	6.1

Mexican American	1	.1

Population by Ethnicity, Summary
Heads of Households and Adults in Comaltown, 1880

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in Comaltown, Comal County, 1880 (%)
German	84	70.0
German American	31	25.8
	-----	-----
TOTALS	253	95.8

Anglo	2	1.7

African American	3	2.5

Population by Ethnicity, Summary
Hheads of Households and Adults in New Braunfels and Comaltown, 1880

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in New Braunfels and Comaltown, 1880
German	605	69.2
German American	188	21.5
TOTALS	793	90.7
Other European	4	.5
Anglo	27	3.1
African American	48	5.5
African Cuban	1	.1
	49	5.6
Mexican American	1	.1
Totals	874	100.0

Foreign Born and U.S. Born Population
Children and Minors in New Braunfels, 1880

As a % of foreign	As a % of entire		
Place of Birth	Number	Born minors in New Braunfels	minor population in New Braunfels
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Prussia	23	53.5	2.5
Württemberg	4	9.3	.4
Germany	3	7.0	.3
Hesse-Darmstadt	2	4.6	.2
Austria	2	4.6	.2
Switzerland	2	4.6	.2
Saxony	1	2.3	.1
Bavaria	1	2.3	.1
Oldenburg	1	2.3	.1
Mexico	4	9.3	.4
	-----	-----	-----
Total	43	100.0	4.5
<i>German ethnicity</i>			
Texas	784	90.8	86.4
Louisiana	1	.1	.1
Virginia	1	.1	.1
Pennsylvania	1	.1	.1
<i>Anglo American</i>			
Texas	20	2.3	2.2
<i>African American</i>			
Texas	57	6.6	6.3
	-----	-----	-----
	864	100.0	95.2
Total children and minors in New Braunfels – 907			

Foreign Born and U.S. Born Population
Children and Minors in Comaltown, 1880

As a % of foreign Place of Birth	As a % of entire Number	Born minors in Comaltown	minor population in Comaltown
FOREIGN BORN			
Prussia	4	100.0	2.8
U.S. BORN			
<i>German ethnicity</i>			
Texas	134	97.1	94.4
<i>African American</i>			
Texas	4	2.9	2.8
	-----	-----	-----
	138	100.0	97.2

Foreign Born and U.S. Born Population
Children and Minors in New Braunfels and Comaltown, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a % of foreign Born minors in the two areas	As a % of entire minor population in the two areas
FOREIGN BORN			
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Prussia	27	57.4	2.5
Württemberg	4	8.5	.4
Germany	3	6.4	.3
Hesse-Darmstadt	2	4.3	.2
Austria	2	4.3	.2
Switzerland	2	4.3	.2
Saxony	1	2.1	.1
Bavaria	1	2.1	.1
Oldenburg	1	2.1	.1
Mexico	4	8.5	.4
	-----	-----	-----
Total	47	100.0	4.5
U.S. BORN			
<i>German ethnicity</i>			
Texas	918	91.6	87.5
Louisiana	1	.1	.1
Virginia	1	.1	.1
Pennsylvania	1	.1	.1
<i>Anglo American</i>			
Texas	20	2.0	1.9
<i>African American</i>			
Texas	61	6.1	5.8
	-----	-----	-----
	1,002	100.0	95.5

Total children and minors in New Braunfels – 1,049

Foreign Born Population Origins
Heads of Household and Adults in San Marcos, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of foreign born in San Marcos (%)	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos (%)
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Prussia	11	21.2	1.9
Brunswick	3	5.8	.5
Wurtemberg	2	3.8	.3
Nassau	1	1.9	.2
Baden	1	1.9	.2
Saxony	1	1.9	.2
Hanover	1	1.9	.2
Bavaria	1	1.9	.2
Hamburg	1	1.9	.2
Rhine	1	1.9	.2
West Indies	1	1.9	.2
<i>Other European Ethnicity</i>			
Ireland	8	15.4	1.3
Scotland	5	9.6	.8
England	2	3.8	.3
France	1	1.9	.2
Belgium	1	1.9	.2
Portugal	1	1.9	.2
<i>Non European</i>			
Mexico	6	11.5	1.0
Canada	2	3.8	.3
Nova Scotia	2	3.8	.3
Totals	52		8.9

U.S. Born Population Origins
Heads of Households and Adults in San Marcos, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in San Marcos (%)	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos (%)
<i>German Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	10	1.9	1.7
<i>Anglo Ethnicity</i>			
Texas	66	12.4	11.3
Lower South			
Alabama	50	9.4	8.6
Virginia	38	7.1	6.5
Georgia	35	6.6	6.0
Mississippi	22	4.1	3.8
North Carolina	19	3.6	3.2
Louisiana	12	2.2	2.0
South Carolina	11	2.1	1.9
Florida	3	.6	.5
Upper South			
Tennessee	57	10.7	9.8
Missouri	21	3.9	3.6
Kentucky	20	3.7	3.4
Arkansas	9	1.7	1.5
Maryland	4	.7	.7
West Virginia	1	.2	.2
Midland			
New York	3	.6	.5
New Jersey	1	.2	.2
Pennsylvania	1	.2	.2
New England			
New Hampshire	1	.2	.2
Delaware	1	.2	.2
Maine	1	.2	.2
Middle West			
Indiana	10	1.9	1.7
Illinois	5	.9	.8
Ohio	3	.6	.5
Iowa	2	.4	.3
West			
California	1	.2	.2

U.S. Born Population Origins (cont.)
Heads of Households and Adults in San Marcos, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a percentage Of U.S. born in San Marcos (%)	As a percentage of entire population in San Marcos (%)
Oregon	1	.2	.2
Indian territory	1	.2	.2
Total - 399			
<i>African American</i>			
Texas	47	8.8	8.0
Lower South			
Mississippi	13	2.4	2.2
Louisiana	10	1.9	1.7
Georgia	10	1.9	1.7
Virginia	7	1.3	1.2
Alabama	4	.7	.7
North Carolina	1	.2	.2
South Carolina	1	.2	.2
Upper South			
Tennessee	14	2.6	2.4
Arkansas	12	2.2	2.1
Missouri	2	.4	.3
Kentucky	2	.4	.3

	123		
Total – 532			
Total Adult Population in San Marcos – 584			

Population Totals by Ethnicity
San Marcos, 1880

Region	Number	As a percentage Born in the United States (%)	As a percentage born in a foreign county (%)	As a percentage of all living in San Marcos (%)
<i>Europe</i>				
German	24	-----	46.2	4.1
Irish	8	-----	15.4	1.4
Scottish	5	-----	9.6	.7
English	2	-----	3.8	.3
French	1	-----	1.9	.2
Belgian	1	-----	1.9	.2
Portuguese	1	-----	1.9	.2
<i>Other Areas outside the U.S.</i>				
Mexican	6	-----	11.5	1.0
Canadian	4	-----	7.6	.7
	-----		-----	-----
Totals	52			8.8
United States				
German				
Americans	10	1.9	-----	1.7
Anglo				
Americans	399	75.0	-----	68.3
Broken down by regions:				
Texas	66	12.4	-----	11.3
Lower South	190	35.7	-----	32.5
Upper South	112	21.0	-----	19.2
Midland	5	.9	-----	.8
Middle West	20	3.7	-----	3.4
West	3	.6	-----	.5
African				
Americans	123	23.1	-----	21.1
Broken down by regions:				
Texas	47	8.8	-----	8.0
Lower South	46	8.6	-----	7.9
Upper South	30	5.6	-----	5.1

Total	584			

Population by Ethnicity, Summary
Heads of Households and Adults in San Marcos, 1880

Ethnicity	Number	As a percentage of all adults living in San Marcos, Hays County, 1880 (%)
German	24	4.1
German American	10	1.7
	-----	-----
Totals	32	5.8

Other European	18	3.1
Mexican	6	1.0
Canadian	4	.7
	-----	-----
	28	4.8

Anglo	399	68.3

African American	123	21.1

U.S. Born Population
Children and Minors in San Marcos, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a % of all U.S. Born minors in San Marcos	As a % of all minors living in San Marcos
<i>German ethnicity</i>			
Texas	17	2.7	2.7
Maryland	2	.3	.3
	-----	-----	-----
	19	3.0	3.0
<i>Anglo American</i>			
Texas	358	57.4	57.4
Lower South			
Louisiana	22	3.5	3.5
Alabama	13	2.1	2.1
Virginia	9	1.4	1.4
Georgia	6	1.0	1.0
Mississippi	5	.8	.8

U.S. Born Population (cont.)
Children and Minors in San Marcos, 1880

Place of Birth	Number	As a % of all U.S. Born minors in San Marcos	As a % of all minors living in San Marcos
Florida	2	.3	.3
Upper South			
Tennessee	17	2.7	2.7
Missouri	15	2.4	2.4
Arkansas	6	1.0	1.0
Kentucky	5	.8	.8
Middle West			
Indiana	6	1.0	1.0
Ohio	4	.6	.6
Iowa	2	.3	.3
Illinois	2	.3	.3
Totals	472	75.6	75.2
<i>African American</i>			
Texas			
129	20.7	20.7	
Lower South			
Georgia	1	.1	.1
Alabama	1	.1	.1
Louisiana	1	.1	.1
Upper South			
Arkansas	1	.1	.1
Totals	133	21.1	21.1
Total children and minors living in San Marcos – 624			

Population Origins of Birth/Ethnicity Comparison
New Braunfels and San Marcos, 1880

Origin/Ethnicity	As a percentage of All adults living in New Braunfels (%)	As a percentage of All adults living in San Marcos (%)
German	69.2	4.1
German American	21.5	1.7
Other European	.5	3.1
Mexican	0.0	1.0
Canadian	0.0	.7
Anglo	3.1	68.3
African American	5.6	21.1
Mexican American	.1	0.0

Appendix B
Occupations for New Braunfels and San Marcos
1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880

Chapter five of this study recounts the economic geography of New Braunfels and San Marcos. Multiple tables in that chapter break down the work occupations according to the larger categories of agriculture, skilled and artisan trades, professional, and government listing. The tables below represent all occupations recorded by census takers from 1850 through 1880. They list all occupations and the number that found work in the trade for New Braunfels, the suburbs of New Braunfels and San Marcos. The complete count here allows the reader to see all trades and the percentage represented in relation to all people gainfully employed at the time of the census, which is not done in the main body of this study.

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Free Population of New Braunfels, 1850

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<hr/> NEW BRAUNFELS <hr/>		
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	93	23.9
Gardener	1	.2
Ranging Service	1	.2
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Laborer	115	29.5
Wagoneer	30	7.7
Carpenter	18	4.6
Blacksmith	8	2.1
Shoemaker	8	2.1
Wagonmaker	7	1.8
Butcher	5	1.3
Cabinet Maker	5	1.3
Saddler	5	1.3
Stone Mason	5	1.3
Baker	4	1.0
Tailor	4	1.0
Turner	4	1.0
Brewer	3	.8
Brickmaker	3	.8
Cooper	3	.8
Gunsmith	3	.8
Clerk	2	.5
Watchmaker	2	.5
Botanist	1	.2
Needlemaker	1	.2
Artist	1	.2
Pipemaker	1	.2
Knifemaker	1	.2
Locksmith	1	.2
Barber	1	.2
Liquormaker	1	.2
Stage Contractor	1	.2
Bartender	1	.2

Table B.1 (cont.)
List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Free Population of New Braunfels, 1850

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<hr/> NEW BRAUNFELS, cont.		
<i>Business, Trade, Professional</i>		
Merchant	16	4.1
Storekeeper	6	1.3
Doctor	5	1.3
Hotelkeeper	3	.8
Lawyer	3	.8
Teacher	3	.8
Druggist	2	.5
Preacher	1	.2
Surveyor	1	.2
<i>Government, Civil Service</i>		
Constable	2	.5
District Clerk	1	.2
County Clerk	1	.2
City Treasurer	1	.2
Tax Assessor/Collector	1	.2
Justice of the Peace	1	.2
Deputy	1	.2
Sheriff	1	.2
Postman	1	.2
 COMALTOWN		
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	23	24.2
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Laborer	40	42.1
Carpenter	5	5.3
Wagoneer	4	4.2
Shoemaker	3	3.2
Cooper	3	3.2
Bookbinder	2	2.1
Clerk	2	2.1
Shinglemaker	2	2.1
Stage Driver	1	1.1

Table B.1 (cont.)
List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Free Population of New Braunfels, 1850

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<hr/> COMALTOWN, cont.		
Saddler	1	1.1
Crockerymaker	1	1.1
Hatter	1	1.1
Cabinetmaker	1	1.1
Horsehandler	1	1.1
Business, Trade, Professional		
Methodist Clergy	2	2.1
Land Agent	1	1.1
Trustee Emigration Company	1	1.1
<hr/> HORTONTOWN		
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	30	55.6
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Laborer	12	22.2
Carpenter	3	5.6
Wagoneer	3	5.6
Shoemaker	2	3.7
Tailor	1	1.9
Well Digger	1	1.9
<i>Business, Trade, Professional</i>		
Teacher	2	3.7

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 910, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population schedules for Comal County, 1850.

Occupation Summary
Free Population, Comal County, 1850

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
<i>New Braunfels</i>		
Agricultural	95	24.4
Skilled, Artisan Work	244	62.7
Business, Trade, Professional	40	10.2
Government, Civil Service	10	2.5
<i>Comaltown</i>		
Agricultural	23	24.2
Skilled, Artisan Work	67	70.5
Business, Trade, Professional	5	5.3
<i>Hortontown</i>		
Agricultural	30	55.6
Skilled, Artisan Work	22	40.7
Business, Trade, Professional	2	3.7
<i>New Braunfels, Comaltown, And Hortontown</i>		
Grand Total		
Agricultural	148	27.5
Skilled, Artisan Work	333	61.9
Business, Trade, Professional	47	8.7
Government, Civil Service	10	1.9

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Free Population of Hays County, 1850

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	43	62.3
Ranging Service	1	1.4
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Laborer	4	5.8
Carpenter	3	4.3
Shinglemaker	3	4.3
Blacksmith	2	2.9
Botanist	1	1.4
Wagonmaker	1	1.4
Wainwright	1	1.4
Domestic Worker	1	1.4
Clerk	1	1.4
Trader	1	1.4
Tailor	1	1.4
<i>Business, Trade, Professional</i>		
Teacher	1	1.4
Methodist Minister	1	1.4
Surveyor	1	1.4
Hotelkeeper	1	1.4
Doctor	1	1.4
Storeowner	1	1.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel 911, Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules of Hays County, 1850.

Occupation Summary
Free Population, Hays County, 1850

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
<i>San Marcos</i>		
Agricultural	44	63.8
Skilled, Artisan Work	19	27.5
Business, Trade, Professional	6	8.7

Occupations Categories Comparison
Between Comal and Hays County
Free Population, 1850

Occupation Group	Percentage working In group in Comal County (%)	Percentage working in group in Hays County (%)
Agricultural	27.5	63.8
Skilled, Artisan Work	61.9	27.5
Business, Trade, Professional	8.7	8.7
Government, Civil Service	1.9	0.0

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Free Population of New Braunfels, 1860

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation
NEW BRAUNFELS		
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	95	21.2
Stock Raising/Trade	6	1.3
Farm Workers	5	1.1
Gardener	4	.9
<i>Unskilled, Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Wagoneer	47	10.5
Laborer	41	9.2
Carpenter	17	3.8
Domestic Servant (Female)	17	3.8
Joiner	16	3.6
Shoemaker	10	2.2
Stone Mason	10	2.2
Tailor	8	1.8
Clerk	8	1.8
Butcher	7	1.6
Saddler	7	1.6
Cartwright	6	1.3
Miller	6	1.3
Blacksmith	6	1.3
Domestic Servant (Male)	6	1.3
Saddletree Maker	5	1.1
Baker	4	.9
Tanner	4	.9
Barkeeper	4	.9
Washerwoman	4	.9
Tinman	3	.7
Painter	3	.7
Pewterer	3	.7
Saddler's Apprentice	3	.7
Cooper	2	.4
Mechanic	2	.4
Brewer	2	.4
Musician	2	.4

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Free Population of New Braunfels, 1860

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<hr/> NEW BRAUNFELS, cont.		
Brickmaker	1	.2
Sewing Teacher	1	.2
Seamstress	1	.2
Hostler	1	.2
Technologer	1	.2
Surgeon Instrument Maker	1	.2
Gravedigger	1	.2
Gunsmith	1	.2
Artist	1	.2
Watchmaker	1	.2
Printer	1	.2
Printer's Apprentice	1	.2
Ferryman	1	.2
Sawmiller	1	.2
Turner	1	.2
Trader	1	.2
Barber	1	.2
Millwright	1	.2
<i>Business, Professional</i>		
Merchant	24	5.3
Merchant's Apprentice	6	1.3
Teacher	5	1.1
Doctor	5	1.1
Apothecary/Druggist	4	.9
Landlord	3	.7
Minister	3	.7
Newspaper Editor	1	.2
Hotelkeeper	1	.2
Hotelmanager	1	.2
Lawyer	1	.2
Surveyor	1	.2
Engineer	1	.2
Midwife	1	.2
Apothecary's Apprentice	1	.2

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Free Population of New Braunfels, 1860

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<hr/> NEW BRAUNFELS, cont.		
<i>Government, Civil Service</i>		
Mayor	1	.2
District Clerk	1	.2
County Clerk	1	.2
County Treasurer	1	.2
County Surveyor	1	.2
Tax Assessor/Collector	1	.2
Chief Justice	1	.2
Justice of the Peace	1	.2
City Marshall	1	.2
Deputy	1	.2
Sheriff	1	.2
Postmistress	1	.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States (Texas), Reel ,
____ Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population schedules for Comal County, 1860.

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Free Population outside New Braunfels, 1860²⁶²

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	402	69.4
Farm Laborer	28	4.8
Stock Raising/Trade	9	1.6
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Wagoneer	70	12.1
Laborer	16	2.8
Stone Mason	11	1.9
Carpenter	8	1.3
Cartwright	7	1.2
Blacksmith	7	1.2
Domestic Servant (Female)	3	.5
Joiner	2	.3
Shoemaker	2	.3
Domestic Servant (Male)	1	.2
Tailor	1	.2
Butcher	1	.2
Baker	1	.2
Saddler's Apprentice	1	.2
Bookbinder	1	.2

²⁶² The 1860 census does not separate Comaltown and Hortontown as did the 1850 census. These two suburbs of New Braunfels still existed and mapmakers still distinguished these two communities. It seems that the census taker listed these individuals within the "outside New Braunfels" category and are listed thus in this appendix.

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation (cont.)
Free Population outside New Braunfels, 1860²⁶³

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work (cont.)</i>		
Shinglemaker	1	.2
<i>Business, Trade, Professional</i>		
Teacher	3	.5
Naturalist	1	.2
Doctor	1	.2
Surgeon	1	.2
Minister	1	.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population schedules for Comal County, 1860.

²⁶³ The 1860 census does not separate Comaltown and Hortontown as did the 1850 census. These two suburbs of New Braunfels still existed and mapmakers still distinguished these two communities. It seems that the census taker listed these individuals within the “outside New Braunfels” category and are listed thus in this appendix.

Occupation Summary
Free Population, New Braunfels, 1860

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
<i>New Braunfels</i>		
Agricultural	112	25.0
Skilled, Artisan Work	269	60.0
Business, Trade, Professional	48	12.5
Government, Civil Service	11	2.5

Occupation Summary
Free Population, Outside New Braunfels, 1860

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
<i>Outside New Braunfels</i>		
Agricultural	439	75.8
Skilled, Artisan Work	133	23.0
Business, Trade, Professional	7	1.2

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Free Population of Hays County, 1860

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	180	58.8
Stock Raising/Trade	44	14.4
Farm Overseer	2	.6
Horse Trader	1	.3
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Teamster	11	3.6
Laborer	10	3.3
Mechanic	5	1.6
Carpenter	5	1.6
Domestic Worker (Female)	4	1.3
Stage Driver	2	.6
Trader	2	.6
Saddler	2	.6
Blacksmith	2	.6
Saddletree Maker	1	.3
Stonemason	1	.3
Clerk	1	.3
Well Digger	1	.3
Peddler	1	.3
<i>Business, Professional</i>		
Merchant	13	4.2
Teacher	7	2.3
Lawyer	2	.6
Law Student	2	.6
Realtor	1	.3
Methodist Minister	1	.3
Tavernkeeper	1	.3
Dentist	1	.3
<i>Government, Civil Service</i>		
Texas Ranager	2	.6
Sheriff	1	.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules of Hays County, 1860.

Occupation Summary
Free Population, San Marcos, 1860

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
<i>San Marcos</i>		
Agricultural	227	74.2
Unskilled, Skilled, Artisan Work	48	15.7
Business, Professional	28	9.1
Government, Civil Service	3	1.0

Occupations Categories Comparison
Between New Braunfels and San Marcos
Free Population, 1860

Occupation Group	Percentage working In group in New Braunfels (%)	Percentage working in group in San Marcos (%)
Agricultural	25.0	74.2
Skilled, Artisan Work	60.0	15.7
Business, Trade, Professional	12.5	9.1
Government, Civil Service	2.5	1.0

1870 Occupations New Braunfels and San Marcos

The tables below include the African American population for those who gave an occupation to the census taker. They, along with the Mexican and Mexican Americans, are listed in their town tables because their occupations differed greatly from the Anglo, German and other European born populations. The separation allows for the reader to fully realize the occupational differences between the groups.

The New Braunfels occupations have a division as well. Due to the large percentage of people living in boarding houses and working as apprentices or domestic servants, they are given their own table. When extracted from the main workforce, the reader can better see the impact that the German cultural practice of apprenticeships and boarding had on occupation choices.

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Head of Households (Adult) Population of New Braunfels, 1870
German, Other Foreign born, Anglo American Workers

Occupation	Number Working in Occupation	Percentage of working Head of Household in Occupation (%)
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	130	27.4
Farm/Field Hand	16	3.4
Stock/Cattle Trader	2	.4
	-----	-----
Totals	148	31.3%
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Mason	22	4.6
Wagoner	18	3.8
Joiner	14	2.9
Wool Factory Worker	14	2.9
Carpenter	13	2.7
Shoemaker	12	2.5
Barkeeper	11	2.3
Butcher	10	2.1
Needlework	9	1.9
Store Clerk	8	1.7
Laborer	8	1.7
Saddler	8	1.7
Saddletree worker	8	1.7
Blacksmith	8	1.7
Saddletree maker	7	1.5
Saddler apprentice	6	1.3
Tanner	5	1.0
Wheelwright	5	1.0
Teamster	5	1.0
Tailor	4	.8
Tinfounder apprentice	4	.8
Brickyard Worker	3	.6
Brewery Worker	3	.6
Gristmill Worker	3	.6
Sawmill Worker	3	.6
Miller	3	.6
Mason Worker	2	.4

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation (cont.)
Head of Households (Adult) Population of New Braunfels, 1870
German, Other Foreign born, Anglo American Workers

Occupation	Number Working in Occupation	Percentage of working Head of Household in Occupation (%)
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work (cont.)</i>		
Brickmaker	2	.4
Sash Manufacturer	2	.4
Printer's Worker	2	.4
Tannery Worker	2	.4
Cottonyard Worker	2	.4
Gunsmith	2	.4
Tinner/Tinfounder	2	.4
Telegraph Operator	2	.4
Wagonmaker	2	.4
Turner	2	.4
Baker	2	.4
Painter	2	.4
Mechanic	2	.4
Blinds Manufacturer	1	.2
Sash worker	1	.2
Music Teacher	1	.2
Musician	1	.2
Soap Manufacturer	1	.2
Barber	1	.2
Joiner worker	1	.2
Washerwoman	1	.2
Blacksmith apprentice	1	.2
Blacksmith worker	1	.2
Steamboat Captain	1	.2
Photographer	1	.2
Watchmaker	1	.2
Cooper	1	.2
Brushmaker	1	.2
Oil Factory worker	1	.2
Needlework Teacher	1	.2
Peddler	1	.2
Penman	1	.2
Totals	261	55.1

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation (cont.)
Head of Households (Adult) Population of New Braunfels, 1870
German, Other Foreign born, Anglo American Workers

Occupation	Number Working in Occupation	Percentage of working Head of Household in Occupation (%)
<i>Business, Professional</i>		
Merchant	26	5.5
Teacher	7	1.5
Druggist	4	.8
Physician	3	.6
Druggist apprentice	3	.6
Merchant apprentice	3	.6
Cotton merchant	3	.6
Lumber Dealer	2	.4
Publisher	1	.2
Publisher's apprentice	1	.2
Wool Factory Manager	1	.2
Architect	1	.2
Jacob Schmitz Landlord	1	.2
Catholic Minister	1	.2
Methodist Minister	1	.2
Private Teacher	1	.2
	-----	-----
Totals	59	12.5
<i>Government, Civil Service</i>		
Deputy Sheriff	1	.2
City Marshall	1	.2
County Sheriff	1	.2
Justice of the Peace	1	.2
Postmaster	1	.2
	-----	-----
Totals	5	1.1

Occupations of Boarders living in other Households
And the number finding work in that occupation in New Braunfels, 1870
German, Other Foreign born, Anglo American Workers

Occupation	Number Working in Occupation	Percentage of boarders only working in Occupation (%)
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farm/Field Laborer	14	11.6
Farmer	5	4.1
Stock Trader	1	.8
Cattle Driver	1	.8
	-----	-----
Totals	21	17.4
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Female Servant (German)	31	25.6
Wool Factory worker	10	8.2
Male Servant (German)	6	4.9
Blacksmith worker	6	4.9
Gristmill worker	4	3.3
Saddletree worker	4	3.3
Saddler apprentice	4	3.3
Wagonmaker worker	3	2.5
Tannery worker	2	1.6
Blacksmith apprentice	2	1.6
Wagoner	2	1.6
Carpenter	2	1.6
Female Servant (non-German)	2	1.6
Store Clerk	2	1.6
Joiner worker	2	1.6
Joiner apprentice	2	1.6
Saddletree maker	1	.8
Saddletree apprentice	1	.8
Mechanic	1	.8
Baker	1	.8
Castor Oil Mill Worker	1	.8
Dance Master	1	.8
Mason worker	1	.8
Cottonyard Clerk	1	.8
Stagehandler	1	.8

Tinner 1 .8

Occupations of Boarders living in other Households (cont.)

And the number finding work in that occupation in New Braunfels, 1870

German, Other Foreign born, Anglo American Workers

Occupation	Number Working in Occupation	Percentage of boarders only working in Occupation (%)
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work (cont.)</i>		
Wheelwright	1	.8
Butcher worker	1	.8
	-----	-----
Totals	96	79.3
<i>Business, Professional</i>		
Merchant apprentice	2	1.6
Merchant	1	.8
Physician	1	.8
	-----	-----
Totals	4	3.3%

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Head of Household (Adult) Population of New Braunfels, 1870
African American, and Mexican Workers

Occupation	Number Working in Occupation	Percentage of working Head of Household in Occupation (%)
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Field Worker/Laborer	23	60.5
Farmer	2	5.3
	-----	-----
Totals	25	65.8
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Washerwoman	5	13.2
Town Laborer	3	7.9
Domestic Servant (Male)	3	7.9
Brickyard Worker	1	2.6
Saddleshop Worker	1	2.6
	-----	-----
Totals	13	34.2%

Occupation Summary of all Workers
New Braunfels, 1870

Occupation Group	Total number Working in group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
Agricultural	194	30.7
Skilled, Artisan Work	370	58.5
Business, Professional	63	10.0
Government, Civil Service	5	.8
	-----	-----
TOTALS	632	

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Head of Households (Adult) Population of San Marcos, 1870
Anglo American, German and other Foreign Born Workers

Occupation	Number Working in Occupation	Percentage of working Head of Household in Occupation (%)
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	34	22.2
Farm Laborer	14	9.2
Stock Dealer	8	5.2
Stock Raising	4	2.6
Stock Hand	2	1.3
Livery Stable Keeper	1	.6
	-----	-----
Totals	63	41.2
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Saddler	6	3.9
Carpenter	6	3.9
Teamster	5	3.3
Mechanic	5	3.3
Store Clerk	4	2.6
Butcher	3	2.0
Domestic Servant (Female)	2	1.3
Blacksmith	2	1.3
Tinner	2	1.3
Grocer	2	1.3
Miller	1	.6
Milliner	1	.6
Hotelworker	1	.6
Stonemason	1	.6
Barkeeper	1	.6
Baker	1	.6
Wheelwright	1	.6
Cabinetmaker	1	.6
Housekeeper	1	.6
Shoemaker	1	.6
	-----	-----
Totals	47	30.7

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation (cont.)
Head of Households (Adult) Population of San Marcos, 1870
Anglo American, German and other Foreign Born Workers

Occupation	Number Working in Occupation	Percentage of working Head of Household in Occupation (%)
<i>Business, Professional</i>		
Merchant	18	11.8
Attorney	5	3.3
Physician	3	2.0
Preacher	3	2.0
Hotelkeeper	3	2.0
Teacher	2	1.3
Dentist	2	1.3
College Professor	1	.6
Druggist	1	.6
Editor	1	.6
Speculator (Land)	1	.6
	-----	-----
Totals	39	25.5
<i>Government, Civil Service</i>		
Justice of the Peace	1	.6
District Clerk	1	.6
County Surveyor	1	.6
Ex Officio Collector	1	.6
	-----	-----
Totals	4	2.6%

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Head of Household (Adult) Population of San Marcos, 1870
African American, and Mexican Workers

Occupation	Number Working in Occupation	Percentage of working Head of Household in Occupation (%)
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farm Laborer	62	60.2
Farmer	2	1.9
Stock Hand	2	1.9
	-----	-----
Totals	66	64.1
<i>Skilled, Artisan Work</i>		
Domestic Servant (Female)	20	19.4
Domestic Servant (Male)	7	6.8
Hostler	2	1.9
Housekeeper	2	1.9
Millhand	1	1.0
Nurse (Childcare)	1	1.0
Shoemaker	1	1.0
Butcher	1	1.0
Stonemason	1	1.0
	-----	-----
Totals	36	35.0
<i>Government, Civil Service</i>		
State Police	1	1.0
	-----	-----
Totals	1	.9

Occupation Summary of all Workers
San Marcos, 1870

Occupation Group	Total number Working in group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
Agricultural	129	50.4
Skilled, Artisan Work	83	32.4
Business, Professional	39	15.2
Government, Civil Service	5	2.0
	-----	-----
Totals	256	

Occupation Categories Comparison
New Braunfels and San Marcos, 1870

Occupation Group	Percentage working In group in New Braunfels (%)	Percentage working In group in San Marcos (%)
Agricultural	30.7	50.4
Skilled, Artisan Work	58.5	32.4
Business, Professional	10.0	15.2
Government, Civil Service	.8	2.0

1880 Occupations New Braunfels and San Marcos

The tables below, when compared with the 1850 and 1860 occupation lists, show the occupational shifts in both New Braunfels and San Marcos. Where the former started with more skilled workers and a smaller agricultural base and the latter experiencing the opposite, by 1880 these situations had almost reversed. Chapter Five discusses these trends.

These tables also continue to separately list the African American and Mexican American workers from the Anglo, German and other foreign workers. This allows a comparison of the 1870 occupational numbers where this was done.

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Head of Households (Adult) Population, New Braunfels and Comaltown, 1880
German, Other Foreign born, Anglo Workers

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
NEW BRAUNFELS		
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	108	23.9
Farm Laborer	39	8.6
Rancher	1	.2
<i>Skilled, Artisan</i>		
Woolen Mill Worker	29	6.4
Carpenter	23	5.1
Laborer (Male)	20	4.4
Domestic Servant (Female)	18	3.9
Store Clerk	17	3.7
Shoemaker	12	2.6
Saddler	11	2.4
Domestic Servant (Male)	11	2.4
Mason	9	2.0
Wagoner	8	1.8
Blacksmith	8	1.8
Barkeeper	7	1.5
Butcher	7	1.5
Teacher in female work	5	1.1
Tanner	5	1.1
Painter	4	.9
Tinner	4	.9
Flour Mill worker	4	.9
Saddlery worker	3	.6
Cabinetmaker	3	.6
Mechanic	3	.6
Tailor	3	.6
Manufacturer	3	.6
Laborer (Female)	3	.6
Milliner	3	.6
Barroom Clerk	3	.6
Watchmaker	2	.4
Newspaper Worker	2	.4
Washerwoman	2	.4

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation (cont.)
Head of Households (Adult) Population, New Braunfels and Comaltown, 1880
German, Other Foreign born, Anglo American workers

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
NEW BRAUNFELS		
<i>Skilled, Artisan (cont.)</i>		
Needlework	2	.4
Brickmaker	2	.4
Baker	2	.4
Barber	2	.4
Saddletree maker	1	.2
Wheelwright	1	.2
Stage Driver	1	.2
Marble worker	1	.2
Blacksmith worker	1	.2
Tinshop worker	1	.2
Gunsmith	1	.2
Dressmaker	1	.2
Mill worker	1	.2
Dyer	1	.2
Telegraph Operator	1	.2
Hotel worker	1	.2
Business, Professional		
Merchant	9	2.0
College Teacher	5	1.1
Druggist	4	.9
Teacher	4	.9
Lawyer	3	.6
Music Teacher	3	.6
Physician	2	.4
Dentist	2	.4
Bookkeeper	2	.4
Minister	2	.4
Hotel owner	1	.2
Newspaper owner	1	.2
Government, Civil Service		
County Tax Collector	1	.2
County Treasurer	1	.2
County Sheriff	1	.2

Table 1 (cont.)
List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Head of Households (Adult) Population, New Braunfels and Comaltown, 1880
German, Other Foreign Born, Anglo American Workers

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
NEW BRAUNFELS		
<i>Government, Civil Service</i>		
County Surveyor	1	.2
County Clerk	1	.2
County Judge	1	.2
Deputy Sheriff	1	.2
Postmaster	1	.2
Post Office worker	2	.4
Total workers – 452		
Retired Positions – 61		
COMALTOWN		
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	27	45.8
Farm laborer	1	1.7
<i>Skilled, Artisan</i>		
Saddletree maker	13	22.0
Wagoner	4	6.8
Laborer	2	3.4
Mason	2	3.4
Carpenter	2	3.4
Washing woman	1	1.7
Saddler	1	1.7
Tailor	1	1.7
Barkeeper	1	1.7
Woolen factory worker	1	1.7
<i>Business, Professional</i>		
Bookkeeper	1	1.7
Teacher	1	1.7
Gristmill Owner	1	1.7
Total workers – 59		
Retired workers – 8		

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 10th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules of New Braunfels and Comaltown.

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Head of Households (Adult) Population, New Braunfels and Comaltown, 1880
African American Workers

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation
NEW BRAUNFELS		
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farm Laborer	5	12.5
<i>Skilled, Artisan</i>		
Laborer	25	62.5
Washing woman	8	20.0
Worker (Female)	1	2.5
Domestic Servant (Male)	1	2.5
Total workers – 40		

Occupation Summary
Adult Population, New Braunfels and Comaltown, 1880

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
<i>New Braunfels (Germans, foreign born, Anglo)</i>		
Agricultural	148	32.7
Skilled, Artisan Work	256	56.6
Business, Professional	38	8.4
Government, Civil Service	10	2.2
<i>New Braunfels (African American)</i>		
Agricultural	5	12.5
Skilled, Artisan Work	35	87.5
<i>New Braunfels (All Workers)</i>		
Agricultural	153	31.1
Skilled, Artisan Work	291	59.2
Business, Professional	38	7.7
Government, Civil Service	10	2.0
<i>Comaltown (All Workers)</i>		
Agricultural	32	54.2
Skilled, Artisan Work	24	40.7
Business, Professional	3	5.1
<i>New Braunfels and Comaltown, All Workers</i>		
Agricultural	185	33.6
Skilled, Artisan Work	315	57.2
Business, Professional	41	7.4
Government, Civil Service	10	1.8

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Head of Household (Adult) Population, San Marcos, 1880
Anglo American, German, and other Foreign Born Workers

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	30	10.5
Stock Raising	5	1.7
Farmworker	2	.7
<i>Skilled, Artisan</i>		
Laborer	23	8.0
Store Clerk	22	7.6
Carpenter	17	5.9
Stonemason	10	3.5
Freighter	9	3.1
Grocer	9	3.1
Gardner	6	2.1
Livery Stable owner	4	1.3
Tinner	4	1.3
Blacksmith	4	1.3
Shoemaker	4	1.3
Printer	4	1.3
Huckster/Peddler	4	1.3
Bartender	3	1.0
Barber	3	1.0
Liquor Dealer	3	1.0
Brickmaker	3	1.0
Hostler	3	1.0
Saddler	3	1.0
Painter	2	.7
Miller	2	.7
Jeweler	2	.7
Tailor	2	.7
Baker	2	.7
Cook	2	.7
Ferrier	1	.3
Wagoner	1	.3
Carriage worker	1	.3
Gunsmith	1	.3
Retail Beer Dealer	1	.3

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation (cont.)
Adult Population, San Marcos, 1880

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<i>Skilled, Artisan (cont.)</i>		
Brewer	1	.3
Photographer	1	.3
Milliner	1	.3
Lumber Dealer	1	.3
Cigar Maker	1	.3
Gambler	1	.3
Furniture Dealer	1	.3
Milliner worker	1	.3
<i>Business, Professional</i>		
Merchant	14	4.9
Minister/Preacher	8	2.8
Physician	7	2.4
Teacher	6	2.1
Lawyer	5	1.7
Bookkeeper	4	1.4
Hotel owner	3	1.0
Railroad Contractor	3	1.0
Druggist	2	.7
Banker	2	.7
Book Agent	2	.7
Music Teacher	2	.7
Professor	2	.7
Civil Engineer	2	.7
Locomotive Engineer	1	.3
Dentist	1	.3
Bank Clerk	1	.3
Surveyor	1	.3
Telegraph Operator	1	.3
Newspaper Editor	1	.3
Boarding House owner	1	.3
Art Teacher	1	.3
Private Tutoress	1	.3

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Adult Population, San Marcos, 1880

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<i>Government, Civil Service</i>		
Deputy Sheriff	2	.7
Jailor	2	.7
County Treasurer	1	.7
County Surveyor	1	.7
County Attorney	1	.7
County Judge	1	.7
County Clerk	1	.7
Precinct Magistrate	1	.7
Sheriff	1	.7
Tax Assessor	1	.7
City Marshall	1	.7
Postmaster	1	.7
Total workers – 287		
Retired workers – 5		

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 10th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules of San Marcos

List of Occupations and the number finding work in that occupation
Head of Households (Adult) Population, San Marcos, 1880
African American and Mexican Workers

Occupation	Number Working that Occupation	Percentage of Population in said occupation (%)
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmer	10	9.1
Farm Worker	4	3.6
Hostler	1	.9
<i>Skilled, Artisan</i>		
Laborer	29	26.4
Washerwoman	27	24.5
Domestic Servant (Female)	14	12.7
Cook	7	6.4
Domestic Servant (Male)	4	3.6
Freighter	4	3.6
Childcare/Nurse	2	1.8
Carpenter	2	1.8
Brickyard worker	1	.9
Butcher	1	.9
Millworker	1	.9
<i>Business, Professional</i>		
Minister	2	1.8
Schoolteacher	1	.9
Total Employed – 110		

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedules of the 10th Census of the United States (Texas), Microfilm. The table above represents a complete manual handcount of the Population Schedules of San Marcos

Occupation Summary
Head of Household (Adult) Population, San Marcos, 1880

Occupation Group	Number working in Occupation Group	Percentage of Population in Occupation Group (%)
<i>Anglo, German and foreign born</i>		
Agriculture	37	12.9
Skilled, Artisan Work	163	56.8
Business, Professional	73	25.4
Government, Civil Service	14	4.9
<i>African American, Mexican</i>		
Agriculture	15	13.7
Skilled, Artisan Work	92	83.6
Business, Professional	3	2.7
<i>All Workers</i>		
Agriculture	52	13.1
Skilled, Artisan Work	255	64.2
Business, Professional	76	19.2
Government, Civil Service	14	3.5

Occupation Categories Comparison
New Braunfels and San Marcos, 1880

Occupation Group	Percentage working in group in New Braunfels (%)	Percentage working In group in San Marcos (%)
Agriculture	33.6	13.1
Skilled, Artisan Work	57.2	64.2
Business Professional	7.4	19.2
Government, Civil Service	1.8	3.5

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While a graduate student she worked as a Teaching Assistant, helped supervise the Supplemental Instruction program for the History department and was the department's Outstanding Graduate Student nominee. After graduating in December 1996 with a M.A. in History from Southwest Texas, she began teaching part-time at Texas Lutheran University in January 1997. The following August, she entered the Graduate School of The University of Texas at Austin in the Geography program.

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